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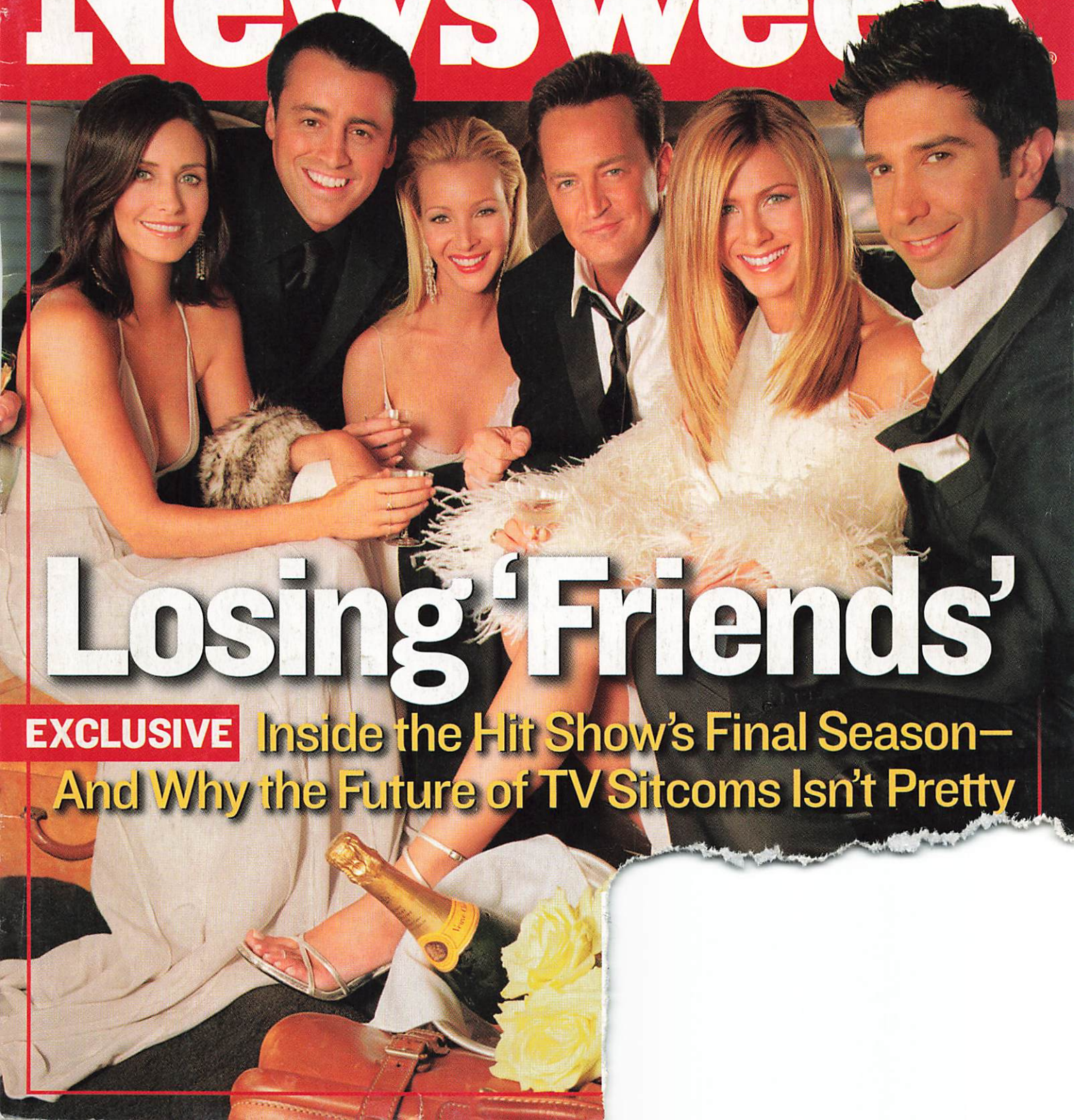
Newsweek



Losing 'Friends'

EXCLUSIVE Inside the Hit Show's Final Season—And Why the Future of TV Sitcoms Isn't Pretty

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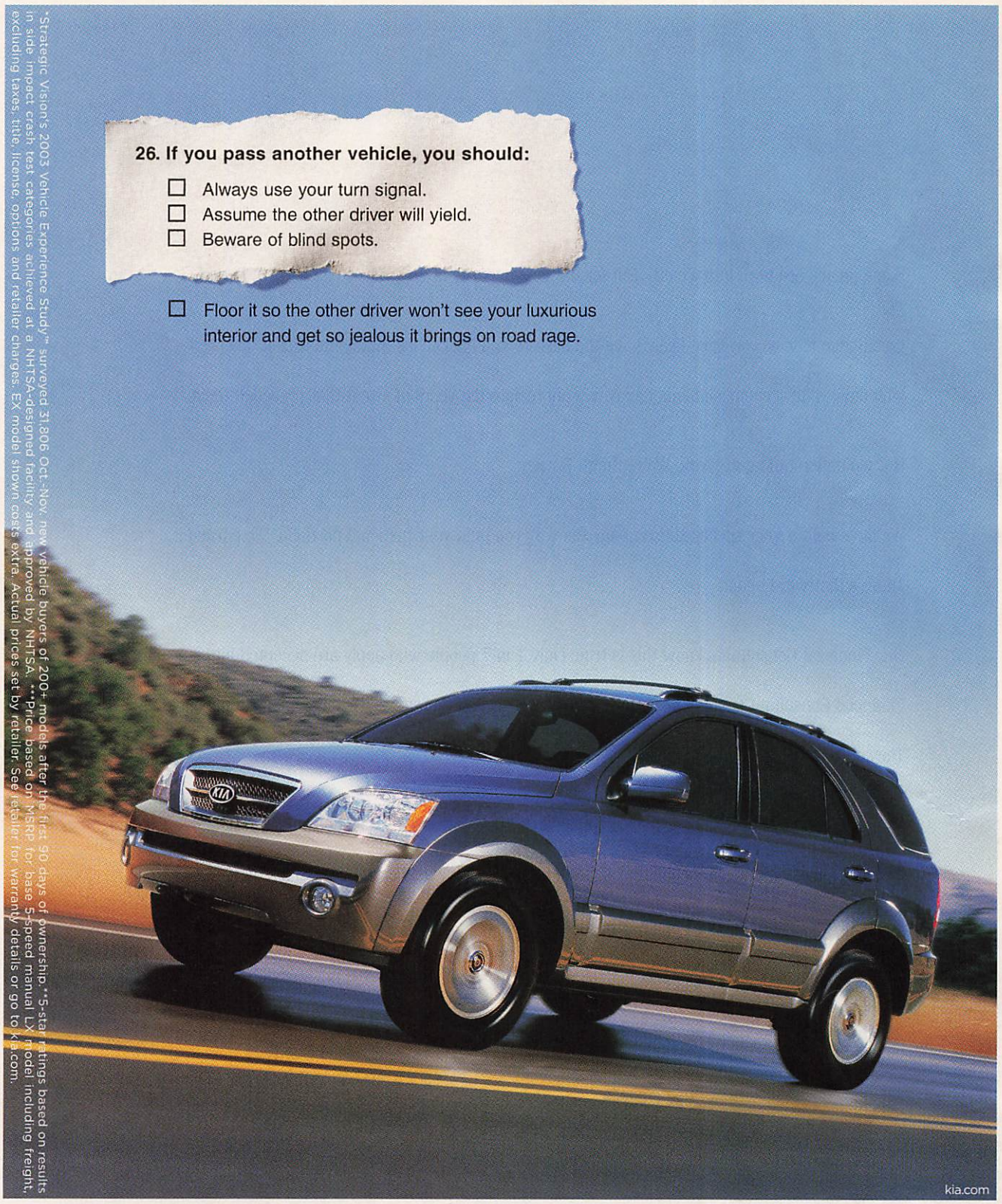
26. If you pass another vehicle, you should:
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☐ Assume the other driver will yield.
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☐ Floor it so the other driver won't see your luxurious interior and get so jealous it brings on road rage.
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Top of the Week

Newsweek

Cover Story

First they were trendy, then overexposed, then beloved—and soon they'll just be sorely missed. **Why America fell for 'Friends,'** what to expect from the last season and why (so far) the TV-network suits **haven't come up with any new sitcoms** that even come close. **Page 46**

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID HUME KENNERLY—GETTY FOR NEWSWEEK

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PHOTO BY MICHAEL KELLY FOR NEWSWEEK

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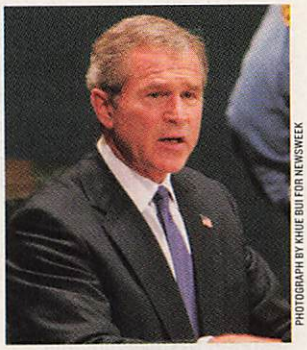

PHOTOGRAPH BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

IS BUSH BEATABLE? His men plan to stop his slide

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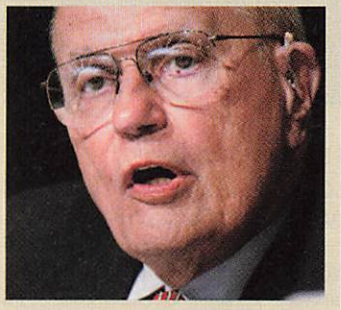
Top of the Week

To Call or Not to Call

NEWSWEEK: The do-not-call legislation you cosponsored has an amazing level of support—even President Bush has promoted it.
REP. JOHN DINGELL: It is interesting to note the unanimity of the House and the Senate, and across partisan lines. And of course the ordinary citizen says, "Hooray, Dingell, we're glad that you're protecting us against these damned calls."
But the courts are siding with the telemarketers.
The telemarketers are able to prevail momentarily. But there are a lot of determined people on my side of the fight.



A federal judge says preventing telemarketing calls abridges free speech. Did you ever anticipate that objection?
Frankly, no. I think the court interpreted free speech as more important than the right to privacy. I think here you have the right of a person to use his telephone the way he wants conflicting with some kind of questionable right of free speech of some guy who makes a lot of money annoying other people. I don't find that persuasive.
What can Congress do now?
We are going to try to get something legislatively into place quickly. Congress will respond to this challenge.

For Laura Fording's full interview, go to Newsweekonline.MSNBC.com

newsweek.msnbc.com
News, analysis and commentary updated daily by the magazine's global network of correspondents

THE EDITOR'S DESK

MY KIDS LOVE "FRIENDS." SO when I can make it home by 8 o'clock on Thursdays, we order takeout Chinese food and watch as a family. Some things about the show have always bothered me, like the cast's lack of diversity (until Ross's latest love interest), and how these struggling young professionals can afford such big apartments in New York. (All the sexual innuendo used to concern me, but I decided to lighten up: children are exposed to a lot worse in rap lyrics and Internet spam.) But I've been won over by the consistently high level of the show's writing. It's not Shakespeare, although as a scholar once pointed out in The New York Times, it can rival the Bard's best comedies in its cleverly shifting romantic entanglements and comic misunderstandings.

You'll be seeing a lot of Farewell, "Friends" stories this year, as the most successful TV sitcom of the past decade completes its ninth and final year. But our cover story this week—reported by **Marc Peyser** and photographed by **David Hume Kennerly**—is the first to take you behind the scenes as the actors film the last season. In addition to hanging out on the set and offering tantalizing plot lines from coming episodes, Peyser analyzes why "Friends" has stayed so good for so long, and why the latest crop of TV sitcoms is so lame. At a time when a whole generation of hit comedies is nearing retirement, reality TV has hit the wall and the networks are running out of ways to knock off "CSI," the unfunny state of sitcoms is serious business for viewers and for the bottom lines of the TV networks.

Last week, we made news with our poll showing novice candidate retired Gen. Wesley Clark moving to the head of the Democratic field. This week we have him gaining more ground, even after a CNBC debate where he mostly avoided mistakes and projected amiability. As Iraq and the economy continue to sputter, **Howard Fineman** and **Tamara Lipper** report on the perhaps too-loud bravado within Bush's political team, and on their strategy for recapturing the White House. **John Barry** and **Evan Thomas** reconstruct our postwar planning for Iraq and find that it was even messier than we knew. And for adventure-travel fans—or for anyone who likes to read about it—the latest in our Next Frontiers series looks at the amazing places technology can now take ordinary citizens, from the bottom of the ocean to the edges of outer space.

–MARK WHITAKER

HIGHLIGHTS

This week, in **Arts & Opinions, Malcolm Jones** on why Joan Didion remains an important American writer, **Tim Wilson** on alternative youth magazines, **Keith Kachtick** on how meditation can help prison inmates and new photographs by **Roy DeCarava** at the Ariel Meyerowitz Gallery in New York. Plus, cast your **Live Vote** on our Newsweek.MSNBC.com home page: should **Donald Rumsfeld** resign?

COLUMNISTS & LIVE TALKS

The Week Ahead on the Web

On Tuesdays, correspondent **Richard Wolffe** files his column on global political relations, Diplomatic Diary.

Join **Marc Peyser** for a Live Talk on the final season of the hit sitcom "Friends," Wednesday, Oct. 1, at noon, ET.

Mikkel Aaland hosts a Next Frontiers Live Talk on digital photography and adventure travel on Oct. 2 at noon, ET.

On Thursdays, log on for **Christopher Dickey**'s column on Iraq, espionage and the war on terror, Shadowland.

For an inside look at Congress and the White House, read **Eleanor Clift**'s Capitol Letter, published online every Friday.

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: DUANE BURLESON—AP, PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY FOR NEWSWEEK, NO CREDIT (2), DANIEL WATTS, PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID N. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK, KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

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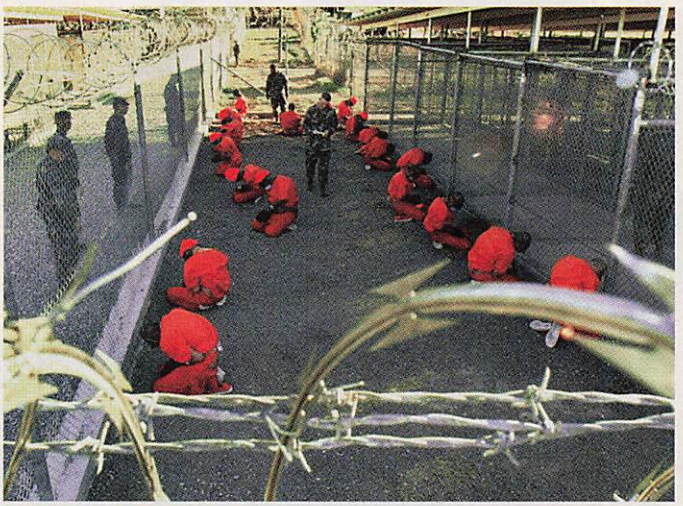
Periscope

From Our Reporters: A Heads-Up Look at Scoops, Trends, Ideas, People to Watch

TERRORISM

Islamic Clerics at Guantánamo: Worrisome Ties

THE PENTAGON IS RE-examining its military-chaplain program after officials confirmed that Islamic clerics assigned to minister to suspected terrorists detained in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, were certified by two religious groups that are under investigation by the Justice Department. Military officials acknowledge that Capt. James Yee, who was recently arrested in Florida after returning from a tour of duty at Guantánamo, was certified as a Muslim imam by the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences—a group whose offices were raided last year by federal agents investigating a web of companies and charities in northern Virginia suspected of ties to terrorist financing. The Army said Yee's religious credentials were also endorsed by the American Muslim Council's Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Office; the council's cofounder Abdurahman al-Amoudi has been under scrutiny in the same probe. Federal law-enforcement sources tell NEWSWEEK that FBI agents in Chicago first became alarmed five years ago that terrorist suspects with ties to one of the northern Virginia groups were compiling lists of Muslims in the U.S. military for possible recruitment. (The concern was fueled by the case of Ali Mohammed, a former U.S. Army sergeant who became a devotee of Osama bin Laden's and later pleaded guilty to charges related to the 1998 bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa.) But a proposal to investigate the issue then was rejected by FBI headquarters—apparently because of concerns that, without hard evidence, a full-fledged probe might rile religious sensitivities. Lawyers for the graduate school and al-Amoudi vehemently deny that their clients have any connection to terrorism.



SHANE T. MCCOY-U.S. NAVY—AP

SPYING INVESTIGATION: Detainees in a Guantánamo holding area

The arrests of Yee and Ahmad al-Halabi, an Air Force interpreter at Guantánamo, have revived the issue. Yee, a Muslim convert who became one of the Pentagon's best-publicized Islamic clerics after 9/11, was carted off to a Navy brig in South Carolina after federal agents reportedly discovered he had classified material about the Guantánamo camp in his possession. All that Army officials will say is that Yee is being held on the order of a military magistrate. Separately, the Pentagon disclosed last week that al-Halabi, who served at Guantánamo between November 2002 and July, had been charged with trying to deliver to Syria classified information about cell blocks and military air movements at the camp. Agents also found he had letters belonging to suspected Qaeda and Taliban prisoners at his home. Though official documents imply that the Syrian-born al-Halabi might have been trying to turn over U.S. secrets to the Syrian government, officials told NEWSWEEK they fear that he might have acquired the material for transmission to groups linked to terrorism, like the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, whose members helped to recruit some of the 9/11 hijackers. Yee's military defense lawyers had no comment on his case. But Maj. Kim London, a defense lawyer for al-Halabi, said, "He's not a spy and he's not a terrorist."

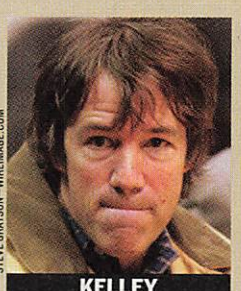
—MARK HOSENBALL, MICHAEL ISIKOFF and ANDREW MURR

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

FISH OR CUT DEBATE DIVISION

When Bush joined the National Guard, it was a way to avoid combat. How ironic that as prez, he's relying on these folks to fight his open-ended war.

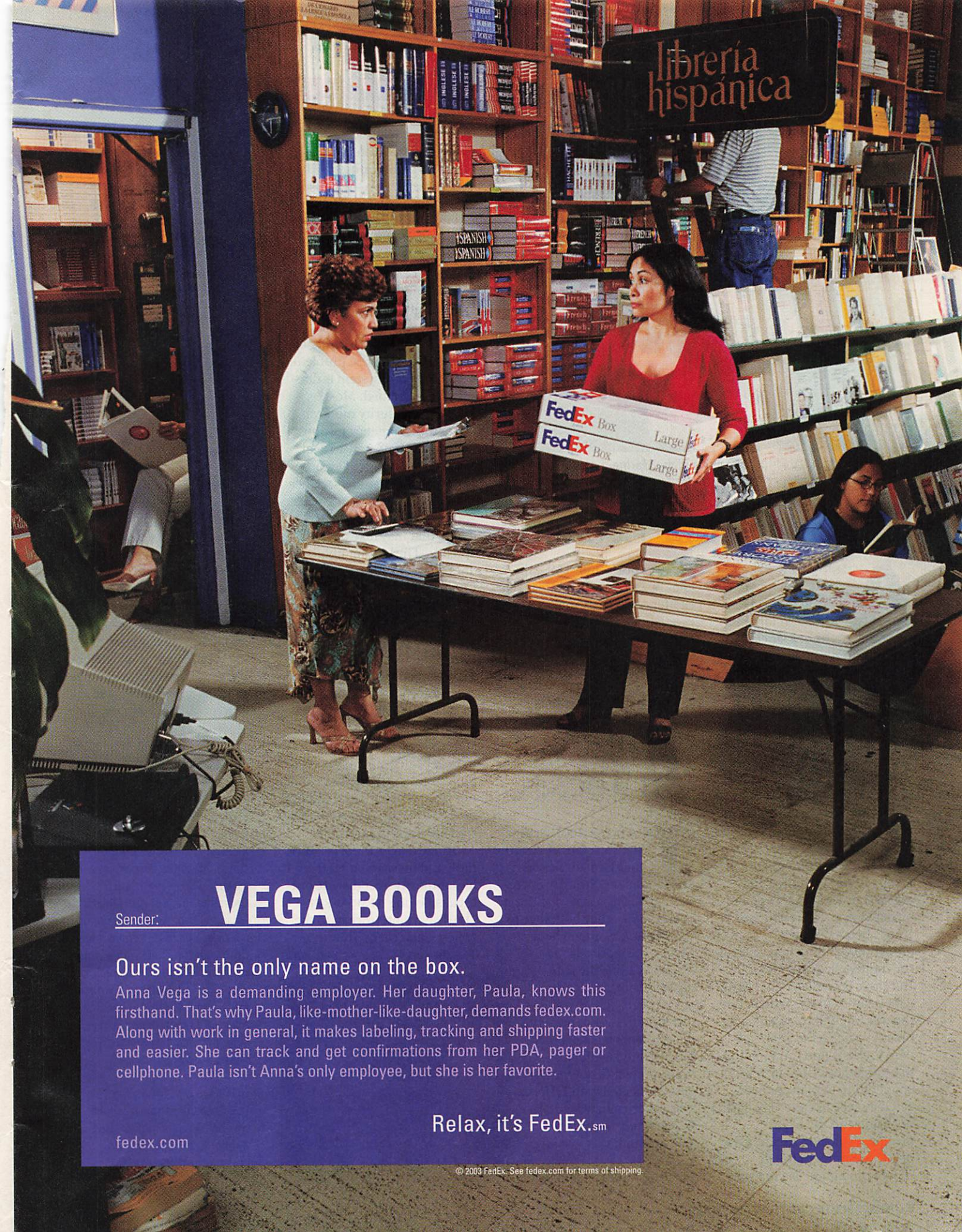
	CW	
Bush	↓	U.N. speech aimed at U.S., not U.N. Neither is impressed. Why not try real diplomacy for a change?
Clark	↑	Old CW: Enters Dem race too late, Clinton ties hurt. New: Perfect timing, Clinton ties a plus.
Dean	↔	He's debate punching bag, proving others think he's the one to beat. And the cyberdough keeps rollin' in.



STEVE GRAYSON—WIREIMAGE.COM

KELLEY

	CW	
Ahnold	↑	Risky debate strategy (only one, and with questions in advance) pays off: Never has to explain how to fix Calif.
Bustamante	↔	Great voice, seemed most gubernatorial in debate. But do Californians really want a governor?
D. Kelley	↓	Overproductive TV producer jumps shark in first episode of "Poland, N.H." Even the "dancing baby" can't fix this one.



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WORST-CASE SCENARIO: The rubble of the Marine-barracks bombing

IRAQ

The Specter of Lebanon

AMERICAN INTELLIgence agencies are working to prevent a "worst case" scenario for U.S. personnel in Iraq: a suicide car or truck bombing like the one that destroyed the U.S. Marines barracks in Beirut in October 1983, killing 241 servicemen. U.S. intelligence has no specific information that a similar attack in Baghdad is in the works. But officials are sure that Iraqi antagonists recall the Beirut bombing and its effect in Washington: a few months later, the Reagan administration started withdrawing U.S. troops from Lebanon. Intelligence sources say there is no evidence anti-U.S. terrorism in Iraq is being directed by a single group or individual, such as the fugitive Saddam Hussein. But there is evidence that anti-American elements who before the war might have been antagonistic—such as secular Saddam loyalists and militant Sunni fundamentalists—may be cooperating to plan sophisticated attacks like the U.N. HQ bombing and the Najaf mosque explosion that killed a pro-U.S. Shiite ayatollah. "Force protection is a top priority," says one senior U.S. official. But some officials fear that tightened security makes it more difficult for troops to interact with (and win support from) ordinary Iraqis.

-MARK HOSENBALL

BIOTERROR

Stepping On Toes?

TOMMY THOMPSON, the secretary of Health and Human Services, and Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge have one thing in common—they both love to talk about how much better prepared America is for a bioattack like the still-unsolved anthrax letters of two years ago. But a turf fight between the two departments has seriously hindered those preparations, officials say. One expert connected with HHS says America may actually be less ready in some respects than it was just after 9/11—when HHS's medical experts quickly funneled $1 billion to communities to deal with bioterrorism—because of the confusion caused by the takeover of Ridge's new Department of Homeland Security. Now DHS is in charge of deploying HHS's stockpiles of vaccines and medicines, but it lacks health-care expertise and experience, HHS officials say.

The dispute is diverting attention from the real problem: the health-care system is drastically underfunded. Most homeland-security money is going to "emergency responders" who know how to deal with the aftermath of explosions or other disasters, rather than experts who can detect, respond to and quarantine an epidemic that may take days to spread. "The bottom line," says Tara O'Toole of the Center for Civilian Biodefense Strategies at Johns Hopkins, "is that hospitals are not prepared. There is no plan to prepare them and there is no one in charge of making it happen." Contrary to reassurances from national-security officials, it is only getting easier to deliver toxic substances like anthrax. And today's beefed-up airport- and building-security checks would not stop someone from walking in with a vial of anthrax, which resembles talcum powder.

Ridge denies there is a turf fight and insists that HHS still has authority over disease outbreaks, telling NEWSWEEK, "We leave bioterrorism to the experts, and that's Tommy Thompson."

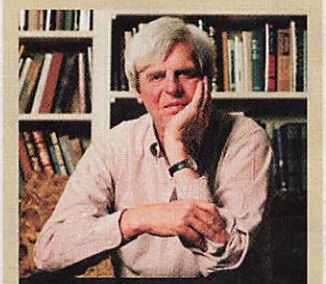
-MICHAEL HIRSH

TERROR: Are we unprepared?

TRANSITION

GEORGE PLIMPTON, 76

Plimpton died in his sleep last Thursday night; that day he'd put to bed the 50th-anniversary issue of his Paris Review. If you can imagine a high-profile Zelig, that was Plimpton. He helped wrestle Sirhan Sirhan down after



ONE FULL LIFE: Plimpton

RFK was shot. He boxed Archie Moore, pitched to Willie Mays, played with both the Detroit Lions and the New York Philharmonic—to write about it all—acted in "Good Will Hunting" and published just about everyone from Ezra Pound to David Foster Wallace. His many vicarious lives added up to one full life, lived at high energy and in high style.

EDWARD W. SAID, 67

Said was a literary and cultural critic whose book "Orientalism" ignited postcolonial studies. Said, a tireless advocate for Palestinian independence, a music critic for The Nation, a member of the Palestinians' exiled Parliament and a Columbia University professor, led many lives before succumbing to leukemia last Wednesday. Born in Jerusalem, Said wound up in the United States, and graduated from Harvard with a Ph.D. in literature. He became America's most resonant, respected and controversial voice on the Arab condition.

ROBERT PALMER, 54

The Grammy-winning singer was best known for his 1986 hit "Addicted to Love" (and its girls-with-guitars video).

TOP TO BOTTOM: ELI REED—MAGNUM PHOTOS, FRANCINE FLEISCHER—CORBIS, U.S. POSTAL SERVICE—AP

FluMist™
Influenza Virus Vaccine Live, Intranasal

FluMist™, Influenza Virus Vaccine Live, Intranasal

For Nasal Administration Only

Please read this information carefully before you receive FluMist™. Even if you have received FluMist in the past, some of this information may be new. Be advised that this patient information is a summary. It does not take the place of discussions with your doctor or health care professional about this vaccine, and does not list all the potential benefits and risks of FluMist. This vaccine can be prescribed only by a licensed health care professional who has information about your health status and full prescribing information about the vaccine, including how FluMist will be administered, what to expect, and potential side effects. Talk to your doctor or health care professional if you have any questions or want to learn more about FluMist.

What is influenza?

Influenza, or the "flu," strikes about 1 in every 10 persons in the United States each winter. Although it is often confused with the common cold, the flu is more severe. Typical flu symptoms include:

- fever
- severe muscle aches
- fatigue
- headache
- cough
- sore throat
- runny nose

Most people recover from flu symptoms in a few days, but the coughing and fatigue can last even longer.

Vaccination is the principal means of influenza prevention and associated complications.

What is FluMist?

FluMist is a vaccine that is given as a nasal mist. It is indicated for healthy children and adolescents, 5-17 years of age, and healthy adults, 18-49 years of age, to help protect them from disease caused by influenza infection. FluMist contains three live flu virus strains, which have been weakened. After the weakened influenza viruses in FluMist enter the nose, the body develops an immune response that helps prevent the flu for the entire season. As with any vaccine, FluMist may not protect all individuals receiving the vaccine.

Who can get FluMist?

Healthy children and adolescents, 5-17 years of age, and healthy adults, 18-49 years of age who have met the required screening criteria as provided by their doctor or health care professional can get FluMist.

FluMist is not recommended for people less than 5 years of age, or 50 years of age and older, or for therapy of influenza. It will not protect against infections and illness caused by organisms other than influenza virus strains contained in the vaccine.

Who should not get FluMist?

You should not receive FluMist if you:

- are less than 5 years of age. In one study, an increase in asthmatic events was seen in children under 5.
- are 50 years of age or older
- have an allergy or history of allergic reaction to chicken eggs or egg products or any component of the vaccine (see **Additional Information**). Symptoms of a severe allergic reaction may include shortness of breath, wheezing, or difficulty breathing; swelling of the face, lips, tongue, or other parts of the body; skin rash, itching, or hives.
- are a child or adolescent who regularly takes aspirin, or products containing aspirin
- have a history of Guillain-Barré syndrome
- have a known or suspected immune deficiency disease or condition such as combined immunodeficiency, agammaglobulinemia, HIV infection, thymic abnormalities, malignancy, leukemia, or lymphoma
- are immunosuppressed or have altered or compromised immune status due to treatment with systemic corticosteroids, alkylating drugs, antimetabolites, radiation or other immunosuppressive therapies
- have a history of asthma or reactive airways disease
- have underlying medical conditions such as but not limited to chronic disorders of the lungs and heart; or have had regularly scheduled follow-up visits or have been hospitalized in the past year because of chronic metabolic diseases (including diabetes), kidney dysfunction, or a hemoglobinopathy such as sickle cell disease
- are pregnant

Due to the possible transmission of vaccine virus, FluMist recipients should avoid being in close (for example, within the same household) contact with immunocompromised individuals for 3 weeks following vaccination.

Who should wait to get FluMist?

FluMist should not be given to anyone who has an illness with fever or a respiratory illness until 3 days after symptoms have subsided.

Since anti-influenza drugs may interfere with FluMist, it is recommended that FluMist not be given until 48 hours following the end of antiviral therapy and that antivirals not be given until 2 weeks after receiving FluMist (unless otherwise directed by your health care professional).

What should I tell my doctor or health care professional before my child or I get FluMist?

Before receiving FluMist, tell your doctor or health care professional if:

- you are taking intranasal preparations, including steroids
- you are nursing
- you, or your child, have had an allergic reaction to any previous vaccination with FluMist

You should also tell your doctor or health care professional about:

- the previous immunization history of you or your child
- any medical problems you, your child, or household members and close contacts have now or have had in the past (including immune status)
- all medicines that you, or your child, are taking or plan to take, including those you can get without a prescription

This information will help you and your doctor or health care professional decide if the expected benefits of FluMist are greater than the possible risks.

When can my child or I get FluMist?

To help ensure protection from the flu, you may get vaccinated as soon as vaccine is available, before the flu season starts; in the U.S., the flu season usually peaks between December and March each year.[1]

What are the possible side effects of FluMist?

In studies, the most common side effects that occurred in healthy children 5 years of age and older were:

- runny nose/nasal congestion
- cough
- irritability
- headache
- decreased activity
- sore throat
- low grade fever (>100°F oral)
- muscle aches
- chills
- vomiting

In studies, the most common side effects that occurred in healthy adults 18–49 years of age were:

- runny nose
- headache
- sore throat
- a feeling of tiredness/weakness
- muscle aches
- cough
- chills
- low grade fever (>100°F oral)

Not all of the side effects reported for FluMist are listed above. Not all of these side effects were greater than those seen in the placebo group. Your doctor or health care professional can discuss with you any additional side effects that were reported. If at any time you or your child experiences a symptom or medical problem that you think may be related to FluMist, tell your doctor or health care professional.

Can FluMist be given with other medicines or vaccines?

Some medicines that should not be given with FluMist include:

- drugs that weaken the immune system
- aspirin and aspirin-containing therapy (taken by children and adolescents)
- influenza antiviral drugs

FluMist vaccination should be delayed for at least 14 days after you have received an inactivated vaccine (a vaccine in which the virus or organism is killed) and at least 30 days after receiving a live vaccine. Ask your doctor for guidance if you've received or plan to receive a vaccination within 30 days of receiving FluMist, or if you have other questions.

Additional Information

Each 0.5 mL FluMist dose contains the flu strains recommended by the U.S. Public Health Service for the 2003–2004 flu season:

A/New Caledonia/20/99 (H1N1), A/Panama/2007/99 (H3N2) (A/Moscow/10/99-like), and B/Hong Kong/330/2001 viruses. Inactive ingredients include egg allantoic fluid, sucrose, potassium phosphate, monosodium glutamate (MSG) and gentamicin sulfate. FluMist does not contain preservatives.

FluMist is administered as a nasal mist. Approximately 0.25 mL is administered into each nostril while the recipient is in an upright position.

If you have any questions or concerns, or want more information about FluMist, your doctor or health care professional has the complete Prescribing Information from which this patient information was created. You may want to read it and discuss it with your doctor or other health care professional. Keep in mind that no written summary can take the place of a discussion with your doctor. You may also visit the FluMist Web site at www.FluMist.com for additional information.

Reporting by vaccine recipients or the parents/guardians of vaccinees and health care providers of all adverse events occurring after vaccine administration is encouraged. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) has established a Vaccine Adverse Event Reporting System (VAERS) to accept all reports of suspected adverse events after the administration of any vaccine. The VAERS toll-free number is 1-800-822-7967. Reporting forms may also be obtained at the FDA Web site at: http//www.vaers.org.

Manufactured by MedImmune Vaccines, Inc., Gaithersburg, MD 20878

U.S. Govt. License No. 1652

Marketed by MedImmune Vaccines, Inc., and Wyeth Vaccines, Philadelphia, PA 19101

This brief summary is based on FluMist Prescribing Information dated June 17, 2003.

[1] Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Prevention and control of influenza: recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices (ACIP). MMWR. 2003;52 (No. RR-8): 1–34.

MedImmune Vaccines, Inc.

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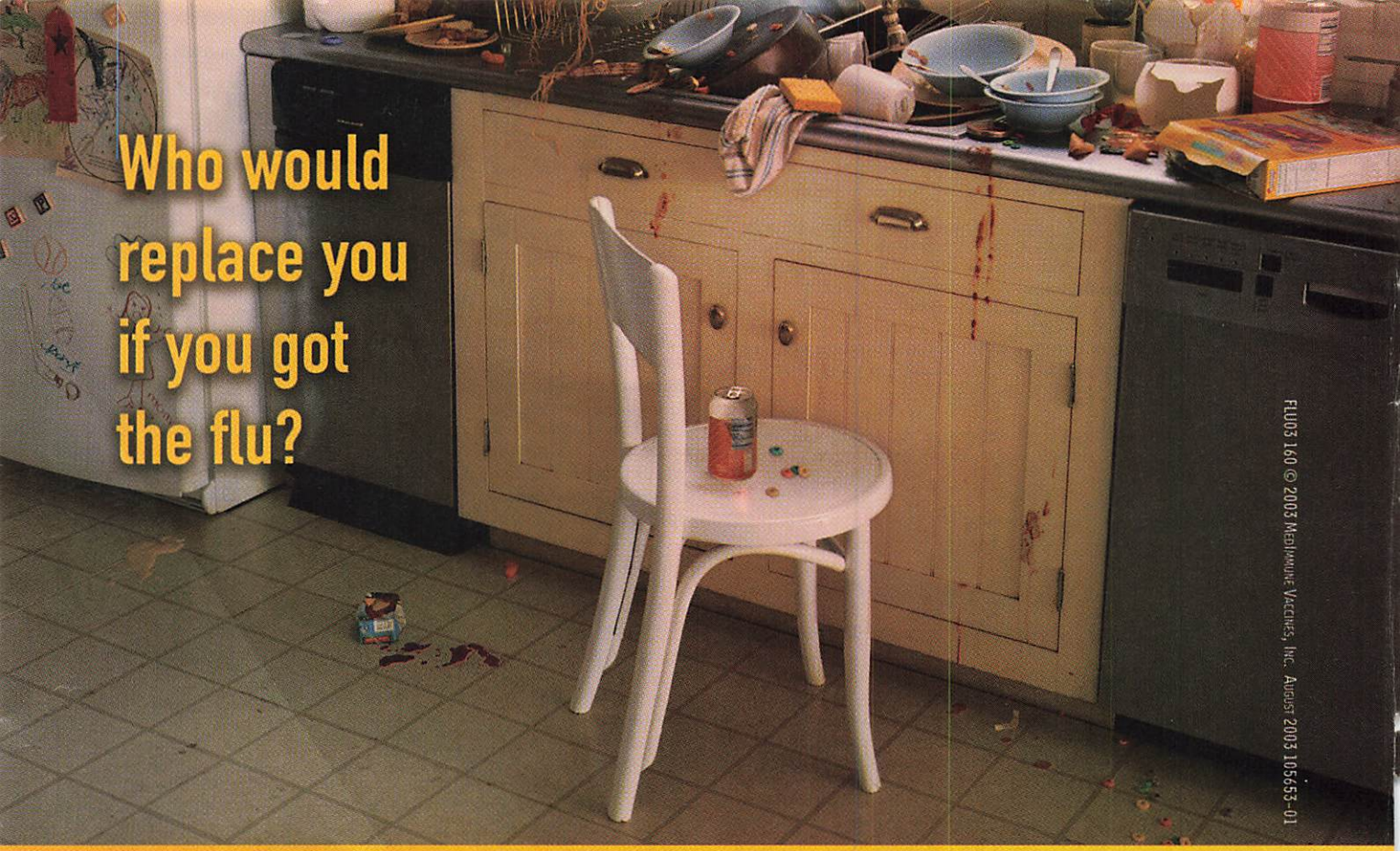

Introducing FluMist: the first needle-free flu vaccine

- FluMist is the first and only flu vaccine given as a nasal mist, where the flu virus typically enters your body—your nose.
- FluMist can help prevent the flu for the entire season.
- FluMist is indicated for healthy children, adolescents, and adults 5 to 49 years of age.

In studies of approximately 7,500 people between the ages of 5 and 49, side effects were generally mild and temporary. Runny nose was the most common. Others included various cold-like symptoms, such as headache, cough, sore throat, tiredness/weakness, irritability, and muscle aches. Side effects not seen in studies are possible when FluMist is used in a larger population. There are risks associated with all vaccines, including FluMist. FluMist does not protect 100% of individuals vaccinated. FluMist should not be used, under any circumstances, in anyone with an allergy to any part of the vaccine, including eggs; in children and adolescents receiving aspirin therapy; in people who have a history of Guillain-Barré syndrome; and in people with known or suspected immune system problems. Pregnant women and people with certain medical conditions, asthma, or reactive airways disease should not get FluMist. See reverse side for important Product Information.

New

Before the flu hits you.

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Influenza Virus Vaccine
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Ask your health care professional now if FluMist is right for you and your family.
For more information, or to find a location where FluMist is available in your area visit www.FluMist.com or call 1-877-FluMist. Ask for it today.

GETTING PERSONAL? A new book gives templates for school prayers

BOOKS

God in 60 Seconds

NO SUBJECT CAN'T BE helped with a cheat sheet—even school prayer. That's why, after the Texas Senate passed a bill giving students a full minute of prayer or silent time, Deborah Knapp published some help for the school's shortest subject. Filled with Bible verses and blank lines, Knapp's "My Sixty Seconds" takes its readers through 180 school days—one minute at a time. Day 1 starts with Genesis 1:1 ("In the beginning ...") and then gives this prayer jumpstart: "Dear God, Thank you for new beginnings! Thank you for this new school year, my family, my teachers and my friends! Most of all thank you for this time I have with you! Today, Lord, please bless ..." Four blank lines follow. (The book advises students to "pray in your head," but not to do anything "with the book that makes you feel uncomfortable.") Each page closes with "In Jesus' name I pray, Amen."

"My daughter was so worried," Knapp says. "She didn't know how she was going to be able to pray for a whole minute." If necessity was the mother of Knapp's invention (it's selling steadily in Christian bookstores and to church groups), she credits Texas lawmakers for creating the need for her book. She offers a "special thanks" to the 78th Texas State Legislature on the book's dedication page and prints an excerpt of the law in the back.

-GEOFFREY GAGNON

TECHNOLOGY

Grandma's Wired and Retired

IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS, 77 million baby boomers will retire. They're "an accident waiting to happen," says Bruce Rosenthal, of the Center for Aging Services Technologies. But high-tech companies are currently testing out innovations that could revolutionize the way we grow old. Some items in the works:

■ **Pressure pads.** Eric Dishman, an Intel researcher focusing on seniors with cognitive decline, is testing pressure pads in seniors' chairs. People with advanced Alzheimer's disease tend not to be very mobile, and caregivers fear leaving them alone. With the pads, relatives are alerted through their PCs or phones or by text message if an elderly relative gets up or falls.

■ **Wireless motion sensors.** Intel is testing sensors that can be placed throughout a home to monitor behavior and help with daily routines. If, for example, the data say that Grandma has not been in the kitchen that morning, a message will pop up on her TV screen reminding her to eat. The sensors may one day be able to guide her through the steps of cooking and know if she has gotten confused midtask. General Electric is testing a similar sensor system.

■ **TV pop quiz.** People with minor memory loss may be able to avoid public embarrassment by quizzing themselves on familiar names and faces (the "first things to go," according to Dishman) through their TV, thanks to Intel.

■ **GPS watch.** Texas's Sears Methodist Retirement System is testing this gadget, which parents originally used to locate lost children. The watch helps relatives track seniors who have wandered away.

■ **Medication dispenser.** At the appropriate time, this pill dispenser reminds an elderly person to take his medicine. If the pills are not removed from the machine after a series of reminders, a home-care facility will automatically be notified.

-MEREDITH SADIN

AGING AID: High tech for seniors

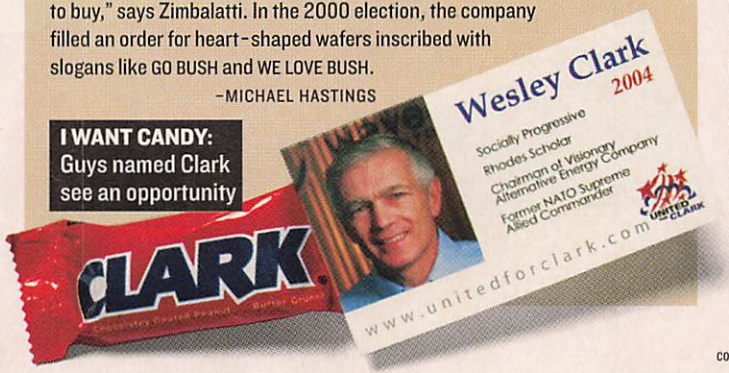
ADS Something to Chew On

Nothing says it better than chocolate. So it's no wonder that the favored treat for Gen. Wesley Clark's grass-roots campaign is the Clark bar. The New York for Clark wing alone has already bought 40,000 of the bite-size bars. In fact, the candy has had a longer political career than the candidate. According to Lory Zimbalatti, marketing manager for the New England Confectionary Co. (NECCO), the two most popular requests for Clark bars are from Clarks trying to get elected and Clarks about to get married. "There are lots of Clarks who run for office, at all kinds of local levels, who have bought them from us over the years," says Zimbalatti. "Look across the country, and you can find one."

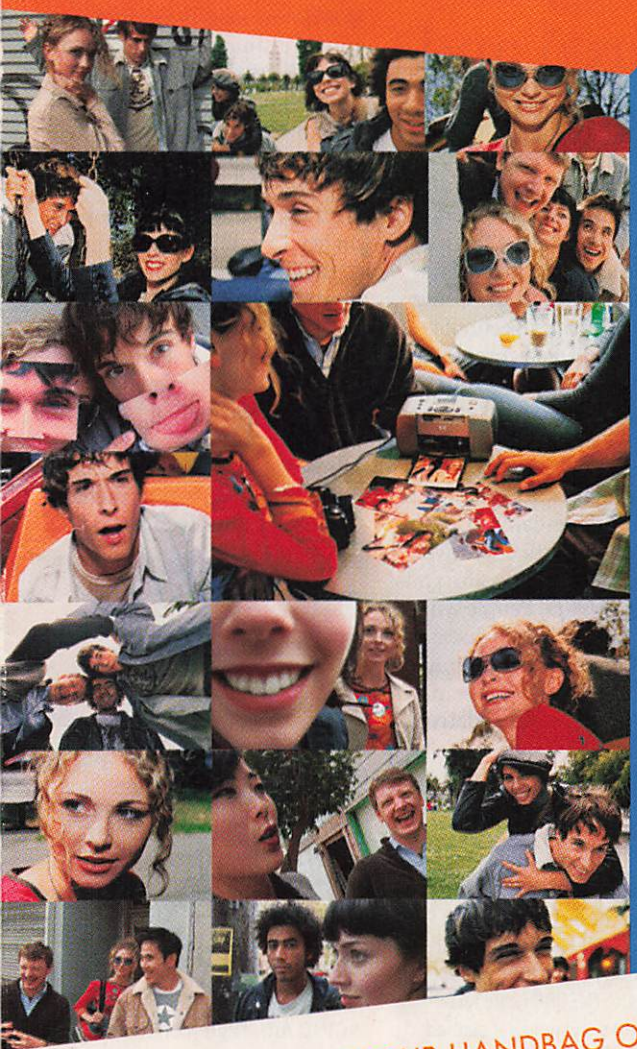
Or more than one. "First time I ran six years ago, I got Clark bars," says councilman Hal Clark from Norco, Calif. He estimates that he's bought about 5,000 bars in his years in office. In Novi, Mich., Diane Clark, wife of mayor Richard, agrees: "They were the hit of the polls that day," she says. "Instead of literature, we just handed them a Clark bar." Leslie Clark, the first female mayor in the history of Woodbury, N.J., relied on their magic, too. NECCO doesn't endorse any Clark: "We're willing to sell to anyone who's willing to buy," says Zimbalatti. In the 2000 election, the company filled an order for heart-shaped wafers inscribed with slogans like GO BUSH and WE LOVE BUSH.

-MICHAEL HASTINGS

I WANT CANDY: Guys named Clark see an opportunity



TOP TO BOTTOM: MARILYNN K. YEE—NEW YORK TIMES, COURTESY OF INTEL, PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK



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Joe Paterno subscribes to the same philosophy both in life and in coaching: work hard, stick to the basics, and execute perfectly. So when it comes to financial planning, Coach Paterno is a little wary of the new players.
Rather than put his trust in a high-flying, high-risk company, he's kept his money with us. For 34 years we've provided him with the guidance he needs to make intelligent, informed financial decisions. And this game plan seems to be working just fine.
Log on for ideas, advice, and results. TIAA-CREF.org or call 800.842.1924
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Joe Paterno became a participant in 1968. TIAA-CREF Individual and Institutional Services, Inc., and Teachers Personal Investors Services, Inc., distribute securities products. ©2002 Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association–College Retirement Equities Fund (TIAA-CREF), New York, NY. Joe Paterno was compensated.

BAR GAMES

Seeing Eye To Eye

HOW BORED WERE Sean Linezo, James Miller, Michael Johnson and Jay Hufford? So bored that they took an interest in *staring contests*. They're screening their documentary, "StareMaster" (of course), at bars—and then already-glassy-eyed patrons do battle. The rules: for two minutes, no smiling or breaking eye contact; last longer, and you're in what Linezo, 27, calls the "Dry Eye Death Phase." One of the semifinal matches in the movie goes on for 17 minutes. ("The American Academy of Ophthalmologists doesn't recommend staring contests," says a spokesman, "but we don't think they're a public-health hazard.") Amazingly, this movement has more than one leader. David Avery, 38, has been cohosting independent contests at performance-art spaces in Brooklyn, N.Y., and is saddened that he doesn't have a monopoly going. Still, he says, "it's really compellingly fun." NEWSWEEK lays claim to the burgeoning tiddlywinks movement.

-BRIAN BRAIKER

YOUR EYES ARE GETTING HEAVY ...: Staring contests catch on in bars

WMD

They're History

INVESTIGATORS HAVE found evidence of biological weapons in Iraq, NEWSWEEK has learned. The discovery was made south of Mosul, in the ruins of a desert fortress at Hatra. And the weapons are ... not what you think. They're clay pots once filled with scorpions and dropped on the heads of invaders by the citizens of Hatra at the turn of the third century. That era's siege of Hatra by the Romans lasted just 20 days before the enemy turned tail. "It was the brute effectiveness of Hatra's defensive biological and chemical weapons that overcame Roman morale, manpower and siege machines," writes classical folklorist Adrienne Mayor. "The terror effect would be quite impressive."

Who knew Saddam Hussein had such a legacy to live up to? Mayor's new book, "Greek Fire, Poison Arrows, and Scorpion Bombs: Biological and Chemical Warfare in the Ancient World"—which she says was prompted in part by 9/11 and the anthrax scare—offers a comprehensive look at WMD's antecedents, from flamethrowers of the Peloponnesian War to plague-bearing booby traps. To be fair, not all these horrors are clearly documented in the archeological record; the account of scorpion bombs at Hatra is almost as heavily disputed as today's reports of Iraqi WMD. But Mayor makes a rich and entertaining case for their existence. "It shows the scope of human ingenuity in a rather terrible way," she says. "People just turned to whatever they had and weaponized it." It's hard, she notes, not to admire the craftiness even while cringing. But hey, Saddam: this still doesn't get you off the hook.

OLD POISON: Black hellebore

-MARY CARMICHAEL

ROAD TRIP Are You There, God? It's Me, Tom Levinson.

In the summer of 1999, Tom Levinson, a fourth-generation Jewish New Yorker and a recent Harvard Divinity School grad, packed up his 1994 Nissan Altima and hit the road to talk to people about God. Seventy cities, 105 days and 150 conversations later, he wrote the highlights in the recently released "All That's Holy: A Young Guy, an Old Car and the Search for God in America" *(Jossey-Bass)*. Levinson talked religion—and cars—with NEWSWEEK's Elise Soukup.

How'd you get people to talk to you?

At the start I was inept at it. It required a lot of gumption to knock on a door or to just say, "Hi, my name is Tom and I'd like to talk about religion."

You were like a missionary.

Totally. When I went to talk with a steadfast evangelical Christian I realized we were up to similar things. His mission was to convert people to the Word. My mission was to convert people into words.

How's the car?

I just sold it to my friend, a Unitarian minister, so we kept it in the faith.

That's important.

Some of my friends called it the popemobile, but I never took to that.

The obvious question: what did you learn from your trek?

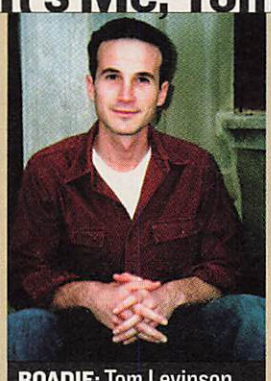
Despite the dramatic differences in traditions that distinguish us, there are remarkable commonalities that bind us together. In talking to strangers I not only learned their stories, but I learned mine.

Very nice.

I feel satisfied.

The book says it's a "search for God in America." So, did you find him?

I don't know if it's a him. But, yeah, I found him. I found her, I found it, I found them. There are a lot of different ways people talk about and understand God in their lives. And that's wonderful. That pluralism is a wonderful and enduring strength of our culture and democracy.



ROADIE: Tom Levinson

TOP TO BOTTOM: ERIC CRICHTON—CORBIS, BRODY BAKER, COURTESY OF JOSSEY-BASS

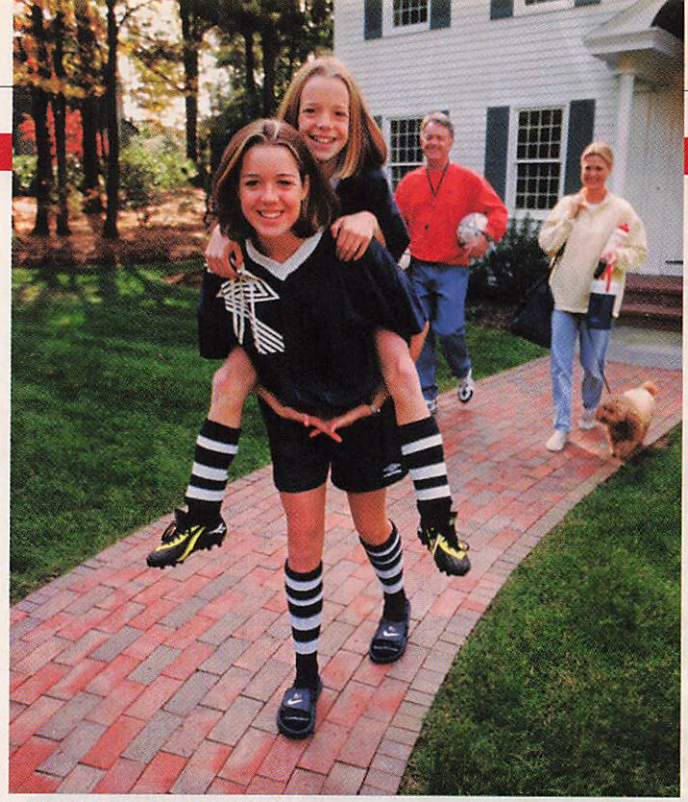
WUSA

Don't Dis The Soccer Daddies

A SUCCESSFUL WORLD Cup may help resurrect the women's pro-soccer league—which folded just days before the tourney began. But if the WUSA does return, it had better be with a brand-new marketing plan, says James Chung, a Boston marketing strategist who analyzed the league for research on gender and family issues. Chung, the president of Reach Advisors, said that during the league's shaky three-year run, it made two major mistakes. Blessed with a natural following among girls ages 8 to 12, who still play rec-league soccer, the WUSA pursued that audience while ignoring more sophisticated teenagers. Instead of boasting wholesome, family entertainment, it should have pitched itself to the older crowd as the empire of strong, dynamic women. "I was just stunned by how uncool the WUSA had become by the time kids reached 13," Chung says. "They were ashamed to go to games or to wear the merchandise."

The second misjudgment was in assuming that the "soccer mom" phenomenon had anything to do with the sport itself. The term, Chung says, is strictly political, a way to lump overextended baby-boomer moms in a voting bloc. And Gen-X moms have a strong, visceral reaction against that label. But more important is that the league banked on the assumption that soccer moms controlled the family purse strings—and, in fact, they are not the driving force behind their daughters' interest in soccer. Rather, it's the "soccer daddies" who are anxious to make sports an integral part of their daughters' lives. The WUSA ignored these men, Chung says, when it should have been courting them.

-MARK STARR



MARKETING MISHAP? WUSA may have courted the wrong audience

GAMBLING Money Mag

Here's a tip if you're headed to Las Vegas: stay away from the slot machines near buffet lines. They're set for fewer payouts because the casino gods know people there care about eating big, not winning big. It's advice like this, sandwiched between articles on drinks, smokes and celebs, that fill Avery Cardoza's Player, a new magazine launching this month. It aims to entertain—actor/gambling devotee Kevin Pollack is on the cover of the 100-page première issue—but education's a major priority. "People have been playing for 20 years, and they still don't know what they're doing," says Cardoza, a pro gambler who built a publishing empire on gambling-advice books.

GAMBLE: New mag dishes tips

But can this stuff be taught? Cardoza and his editor, Spy's former editor in chief Jim Mauro, think so. You just have to want to learn. "A guy will go home and say, 'I went to Vegas and lost $2,000—and I had a great time'," says Cardoza. "I don't exactly understand that." That guy's wife probably doesn't, either. So to help the loser, Player suggests staying away from high-stakes poker games—that's where the hardest-to-beat players are; always hitting on 16 in blackjack when the dealer shows a seven or higher, and shying from bets in the middle of the craps table because they carry the worst odds. The house always wins, but Cardoza's message is that you shouldn't let it prey on your incompetence as well. Good strategy. Any advice on how to find your way *out* of a casino?

-STEVE FRIESS

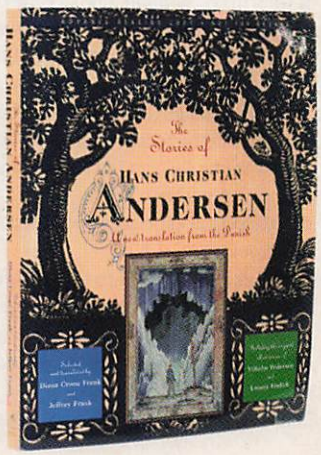
FAIRY TALES

Once Lost, Now Found

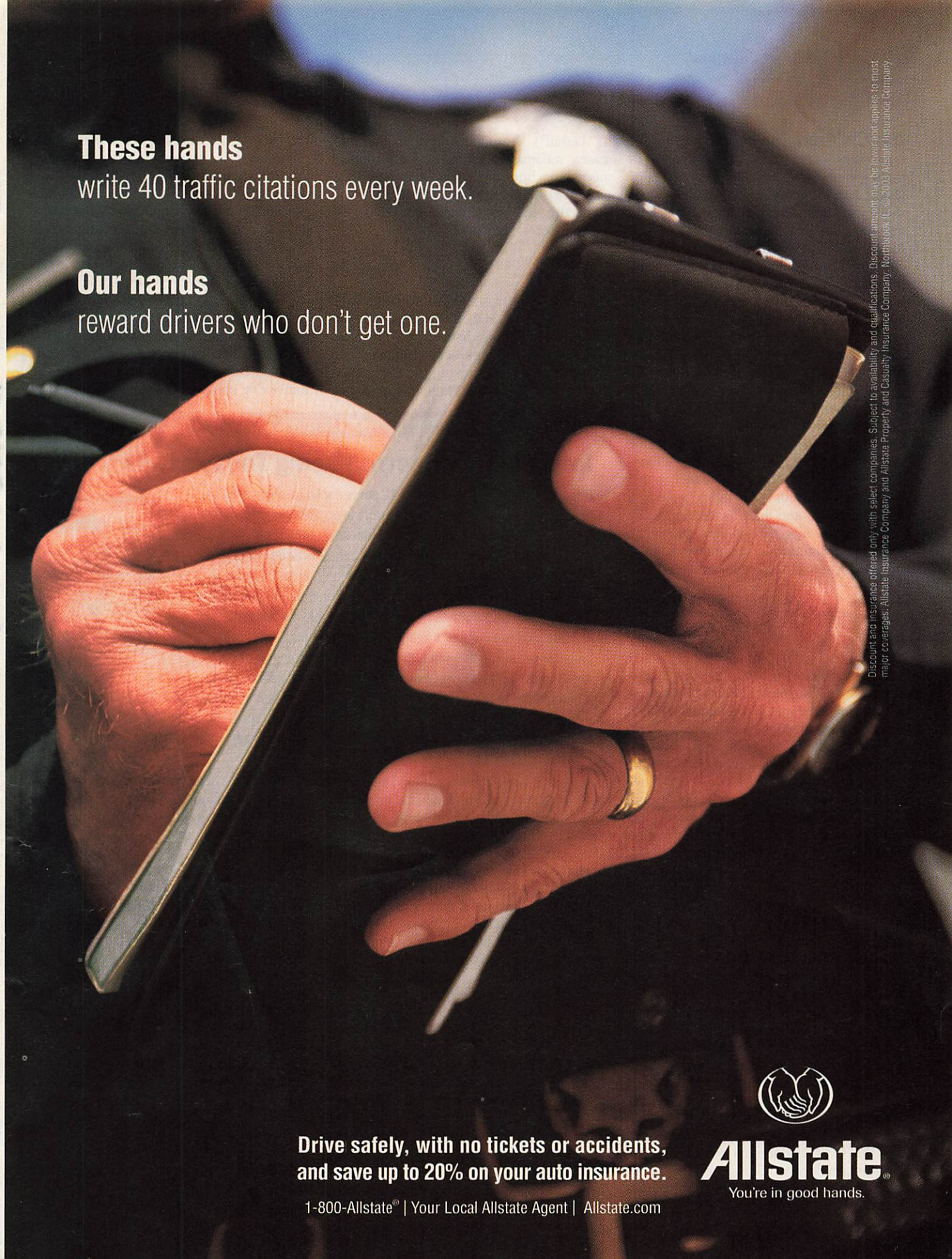
SOME BAD NEWS: IN Hans Christian Andersen's "The Little Mermaid," the mermaid doesn't get her prince. In fact, she dies. More bad news: that's not the only one of Andersen's stories that has been told wrong. "Andersen was lost," says Jeffrey Frank, who, with his wife, Diana, faithfully co-translated Andersen's most famous stories in November's "The Stories of Hans Christian Andersen" *(Houghton Mifflin)*. "He was a literary genius and they lost the whole spirit of him."

There's no single culprit—Andersen's stories were changed by Victorian translators for tone and decency; they were spliced by publishers to fit with illustrations, and they went through so many shoddy interpretations that the originals were all but lost in translation. Some stories, like "The Princess and the Pea," were even incorrectly attributed to other authors. (It was included in an 1843 Grimm brothers' collection.) The Franks' edition finally sets the stories straight, and a valuable opening essay clarifies the tale most often told wrong—Andersen's own life story.

-ELISE SOUKUP



TOP TO BOTTOM: GEORGE DISARIO—CORBIS, PAUL TAYLOR—GETTY IMAGES. PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID N. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK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Our hands
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Drive safely, with no tickets or accidents,
and save up to 20% on your auto insurance.
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Letters

Our Children, Ourselves

I ENTHUSIASTICALLY AGREE WITH THE main points of "Helping Kids Get Fit" (Sept. 22): principally, that prevention is the key to addressing pediatric obesity, and the importance of community involvement in this process. Pediatric obesity is the most common chronic illness in childhood and one that is associated with significant morbidity and mortality in childhood and adulthood. Stroke and coronary heart disease have their beginnings in childhood. There is an 80 percent probability that an obese adolescent will remain obese as an adult. Indeed, the previous surgeon general stated that obesity is perhaps the most important public-health issue we face today and that it could surpass tobacco in the negative effects it will have on our society. If we are to seriously have an impact on this major public-health issue, there has to be a comprehensive and multifaceted approach involving families, health-care providers, schools, communities, insurance companies, government and corporate America.

WILLIAM J. COCHRAN, M.D.
Associate Professor of Pediatric GI and Nutrition
Geisinger Clinic
DANVILLE, PA.

YEARS AGO, WHEN THE REPORT "A NAtion at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform" came out, all the schools rushed to make sure everyone was reading. With the continual reports of obesity in children, why is there no rush to put physical education back in the schools? Kids need to move every day, and that doesn't mean recess. That means a phys-ed class that meets daily and is taught by a specialist. Education should be dealing with the entire child.

JULIE K. BREEN
GLEN ELLYN, ILL.

AS A STUDENT AT A SUBURBAN PRIVATE school, I constantly hear kids practically bragging about what disorders they have and how many medications they take ("Troubled Souls"). Nowadays, mental disorders seem to be "in." I have several friends who started taking drugs like Paxil and Adderall without first experimenting with other ways of solving their problems. Problems such as substance abuse and suicide are used by drug companies to scare concerned parents into treating their children with medication that they may not need and that can cause serious side effects. The lengthy article was followed by one about impoverished children dying from malnutrition and pneumonia ("Where Living Is Lethal"). I understand that in many cases, medication for mental disorders is necessary, but sometimes it is not. Why can't we give medication to those who really need it, like the children who die every day in poorer countries?

NATALIE LEVIN
DEVON, PA.

"WHY SLEEP MATTERS" DISCUSSES THE concept of the teenage body clock and cites examples of school districts in Minnesota that have shown significant improvement in performance by moving the start of the high-school day from 7 to 8:40 a.m. As the parent of a high-school senior, I certainly believe that teenagers function better the later the day gets. Many teens take advantage of the weekend to catch up on sleep, and it is not uncommon for them to sleep until at least noon on a Saturday or Sunday if their schedule permits that luxury. Yet the companies that administer the standardized tests (SATs and ACTs), which are so influential for a student's admission to colleges and universities, don't seem to get it, and persist in scheduling the exams for 8 on a Saturday morning!

LAURA JAEGER
CORTLANDT MANOR, N.Y.

NEWSWEEK CHIDES THE U.S. GOVERNment for not dedicating more money to foreign health assistance, but shouldn't you instead chide individual Americans who do not voluntarily give, all of whom are fabulously wealthy compared with the Third World poor?

ERIC EWANCO
SHREWSBURY, MASS.

EATING RIGHT BEGINS AT HOME. THE problems arise when children start going to restaurants. "Children's menus" are downright abominable. The offerings are usually fried fish and chips, hot dogs, hamburgers and fried-chicken fingers, all served with french fries and, to top it all off, an ice-cream sundae with hot fudge syrup and whipped cream. Children get very used to eating this type of fare. If they were introduced to a healthy menu, they'd get used to that as well and wouldn't turn up their collective noses at the good stuff. We have been so afraid our kids won't eat that we've compromised their health. Because of this fear, we have given restaurants permission to serve children the worst—and cheapest—foods possible.

PEARL ROSENSTEIN
HARTSDALE, N.Y.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR STORY ON children and allergies ("The Allergy Epidemic"). Just this week our daughter, who is severely allergic to peanuts, avoided a potentially lethal situation with peanut-butter cookies in her first-grade classroom because a quick-thinking and well-informed principal knew what to do. We have always believed that short of a medical breakthrough, educating others about our daughter's allergy is the best way to keep her safe. You've made our job a lot easier.

FRED AND JOY OCHS
CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA

THERE IS INCONGRUITY IN DEBATING whether insurance companies should foot the costly bill for years of growth-hormone therapy to help short kids be an inch or two

MAIL CALL

Important Concerns Facing Today's Kids

Readers responding to our Sept. 22 cover package on children's health and safety overwhelmingly wrote in on the subject of allergies. While some pointed to specific environmental factors, cleaning products and foods as the culprits, one couple offered a simple testimonial on behalf of their 2½-year-old: "It is so helpful to explain why one crumb of a peanut product or cross-contamination with a utensil that touched a milk product might lead to death." Another cautioned doctors against overprescribing antibiotics and commented on the wall signs in her clinic warning parents about overuse: "In my experience, it's the practitioners that need reminders, not the parents." Others focused on the broader issue of 30,000 children dying daily worldwide from mostly preventable causes. "Stick this matter in our face," one said, "and keep it there until none of us can sleep at night without doing more to help."

Letters

taller ("Will He Measure Up?") when 9 million American children remain uninsured and, as your article "Where Living Is Lethal" states, 11 million children under 5 die annually for lack of the most basic health care. Perhaps this issue, and the others it raises, will serve as a jumping-off point for intelligent, forthright discussions by our presidential candidates on what the United States can do to improve child health nationally and across the globe.

KELLY A. ORRINGER, M.D.
University of Michigan Health System
Department of Pediatrics
ANN ARBOR, MICH.

TWO WEEKS AGO, "KIDS WITH AUTISM." This week, "Kids and Health." At what exact moment did NEWSWEEK morph into Parents magazine? I look forward to the next issue or two, no doubt a retrospective on Big Bird.

LYNDA CITERA
WINFIELD, ILL.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ARTICLE HIGHlighting the millions of kids around the world who die needlessly ("Where Living Is Lethal"). These precious children could be saved with inexpensive medicine or simple, well-applied public-health measures such as clean water and waste disposal. In my experience as a missionary nurse in Niger, I saw and struggled with the problems you mention and many more. Though I spoke the language and was a highly skilled nurse, I could not overcome the Islamic mind-set of fatalism and hatred for the "infidel" (me). I saw more than 100 patients a day and saved hundreds of lives, battled malaria, spinal meningitis, scurvy, animal bites and other problems, and I started a children's vaccination program. Yet I could not get past the people's fatalistic acceptance of needless death—"It is God's will." Christian missions have much to offer and ask nothing but an opportunity to help. We must recognize that the world is facing a dual problem—religious intolerance as well as a worsening health crisis. What I say may not be politically correct, but I speak as one who has laid down the comfort and money that my citizenship and profession offered in order to serve.

PRISCILLA WEESE, R.N.
WHEATON, ILL.

THANK YOU FOR DRAWING ATTENTION to the growing problem of children's asthma ("Fighting for Air"). However, you neglected to mention a sadly overlooked factor intensifying this problem—the pollution from dirty diesel schoolbuses. Approximately 25 million American children ride to school every day on about 450,000 schoolbuses. Almost all these buses are powered by diesel engines, which account for nearly two thirds of asthma-exacerbating soot emissions in the country. According to a recent Yale University study, children riding schoolbuses may be exposed to five to 15 times more soot than normal ambient levels. The U.S. House and Senate are negotiating an energy bill that would begin a Clean School Bus Grant Program so that local school districts can begin to use technologies already available to replace or retrofit their dirty diesel schoolbuses without having to dip into funds needed for education.

SCOTT NATHANSON
National Field Organizer
Union of Concerned Scientists
WASHINGTON, D.C.

LIKE OTHER "FOOD-ALLERGY MOMS," I regularly call the manufacturer of every product my son eats to find out the exact ingredients, and to determine if the product is made on equipment shared with dairy or nut products. Recently I gave my son a cracker that did not contain any red flags on the ingredient label, which boldly stated it was "dairy free." Within minutes after eating two small crackers, my son had hives covering his entire body. After calling the manufacturer, I learned that there was buttermilk in the "natural seasonings." (A lab found 114 parts per million of milk.) I notified the FDA, and the manufacturer ultimately recalled the product. All people with life-threatening food allergies would benefit from the Food Allergen Labeling and Consumer Protection Act (FALCPA), a federal bill that would speed up the process of creating clear, consistent labeling of major food allergens. With luck, people like my son will be just a little bit safer.

ANN PASK
DALLAS, TEXAS

THANK YOU FOR PUBLICIZING A RAPIDly increasing health concern that receives too little attention: food allergies. Seven million Americans suffer from food allergies. As many as 250 die each year, and hundreds more make trips to the emergency room. While many questions remain about how and why food allergies are increasing in prevalence and intensity, we can save lives without waiting for scientific breakthroughs by making food labels

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THE MAGAZINE

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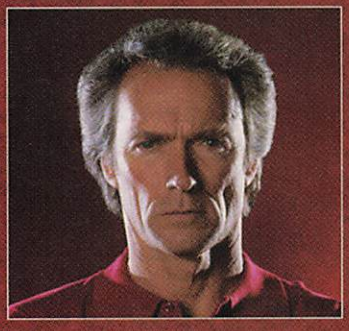
Newsweek's Who's Next Poll
Today's hot shot action hero is quite different from the "cool, calm and collected" roles that Eastwood has played. Who's the next screen actor to follow in Eastwood's rock-steady ways?
A. Viggo Mortensen
B. Jennifer Garner
C. Orlando Bloom
D. Hugh Jackman
Log on to Newsweek.com and cast your vote.
Newsweek

Letters

easier to read. That's why I introduced the Food Allergen Labeling and Consumer Protection Act. Today I am working with Sens. Judd Gregg and Edward Kennedy to garner support for the bill, which would set guidelines for labeling the primary food allergens. We may not have all the answers yet, but Congress can take a very meaningful step toward decreasing the impact of food allergies on our children by passing this bill.

REP. NITA M. LOWEY
Democrat of New York
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE ARTICLE "WILL HE MEASURE UP?" speaks of more than "shortness for no known medical reason." Can better self-esteem and athletic ability for a child occur only with Humatrope? Is $25,000 an inch a better investment than nurturing or college? We do not need a medical solution for parental and societal phobias in an effort to create some superrace. We must recognize commonalities and respect differences that ultimately define us as humans. This is when we will all measure up.

BRIAN DRUMM
ROYAL OAK, MICH.

AS A WRITER AND TEACHER WHO HAS spent many years working with behaviorally and emotionally challenged young people, I was disappointed that you didn't better explore why children are being labeled in unprecedented numbers with mental "disorders." The easy answer is that now we have the information and services to categorize with depression and anxiety children who have "always been there." Many of these children have been the artists and intellectuals—individuals who stand aslant to the herd and begin at a very young age to question the world around them. Thus we must ask what we are losing by subjecting unique, sensitive children to diagnosis and drug therapy that will forever alter their brain chemistry. If every child performed equally well, we would be a country of automatons who never evolved our ways of teaching and learning. Moreover, by "helping" our children bypass sadness and worry, don't we actually remove their coping mechanisms? By readily diagnosing "disorder," don't we tell our kids they are flawed and thus increase their despair? We need to spend less energy "fixing" them and more energy enjoying and listening to them.

RACHEL J. WEBSTER
CHICAGO, ILL.

Speaking Out on Ovarian Cancer

I CAN COMPLETELY IDENTIFY AND SYMpathize with Katharine Kinderman's experience of not being listened to by her doctors ("The Disease Is Silent. We Don't Have to Be," MY TURN, Sept. 22). In 1996 I was misdiagnosed by four different doctors, one of whom was so arrogant that when I said I wasn't sure I agreed with his diagnosis, he scoffed, "It doesn't matter anyway." When my symptoms worsened to a point where I was having difficulty walking, another doctor admitted me to the hospital on an emergency basis, and it was discovered that I had a large tumor on my spine. Thanks to a brilliant neurosurgeon, a wonderful oncologist and a superb radiologist, I was cancer-free after 10 months of intense treatment, and still am today. While I was initially misdiagnosed by doctors, I also take some responsibility for not being assertive enough. Patients need to be aggressive and persistent and do their own research (no one else will). They also need doctors who listen, take their concerns seriously and think outside the box.

YVONNE GOULET
GORHAM, MAINE

CONSIDER THE CONTRADICTION BEtween both the subhead ("Far too often, women with symptoms of ovarian cancer don't get the tests that could save their lives") and first sentence ("I felt bloated, constipated, fatigued ...") of Katharine Kinderman's article with its headline, "The Disease Is Silent ..." Ovarian cancer is *not* silent, but all too often its symptoms are dismissed by doctors. In my case (a diagnosis of synchronous ovarian and uterine cancers in 2000), I was told time and again that the bleeding and even the pain I was experiencing were "normal" for a woman approaching menopause. Doctors need to be much better educated and more vigilant. As Kinderman notes, a test as simple as an ultrasound is "painless and accurate." In my case, it took far too long (and a change of health-care providers) for that lifesaving test to be ordered. Women need to know the warning signs of ovarian cancer and take as much control of their health as possible in the face of the broken health-care system that most of us have to negotiate.

ADRIENNE DERN
SILVER SPRING, MD.

AS A PHYSICIAN, I THINK THERE ARE some other points about ovarian cancer that should be considered. First—and this

Letters

may sound harsh—if I ordered a CT scan or ultrasound on every female patient who came in complaining of "bloating" and "not feeling right," I would bankrupt the health-care system. Additionally, I would have a crowd of angry women outside my office daily when their insurance companies refused to pay for the expensive test. You needed to include some of the criteria for a good screening test. One of these, unfortunately, is that we have to be able to afford it. Additionally, physicians are no longer allowed by insurance companies to order many tests at will; they have to fit the companies' "justification" guidelines, or the patient foots the bill.

JAMES MILHOLLIN, M.D.
MARYVILLE, TENN.

Cash Was a Part of Us

I THINK WHAT HURTS MOST WHEN SOMEone like Johnny Cash dies is that a little part of us—those who grew up with him and recognized something special about him—gets torn out ("The Man in Black," Sept. 22). There are certain people who come through this world whom we recognize as part of ourselves in some small and minor way. Johnny Cash was definitely one of those individuals. Like so many who went before him and will follow, he will be missed.

SCOTT ECKELAERT
SHEBOYGAN, WIS.

The File-Swapping Battle

THE MUSIC INDUSTRY LAMENTS A $700 million loss in revenue due to Internet file sharing ("Out of Tune," Sept. 22). Built into that figure is the assumption that downloaders would have gone out and bought that music had file sharing not been available. But music is being downloaded not because it's a cheaper alternative, but simply because it's free. If it can't be downloaded, that doesn't necessarily mean it's going to be purchased.

TED CASS
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

THERE IS SOMETHING EITHER COMically ironic or simply pathetic about a 14-year-old honor student's incredulous complaint that "all my friends [download music], yet I'm the only one being sued for it" ("Courthouse Rock," Sept. 22). Maybe one can become an honor student without ever learning ethics. Of course, one can become a corporate CEO without learning ethics, either.

ROBERT AAGARD
HIGHLAND, UTAH

IN "COURTHOUSE ROCK," YOU QUOTE a 19-year-old who thinks it's OK to steal creative property because "every time I log on to Kazaa ... there are a million users online with me. The odds are in my favor." Would he also loot clothing or computers if the odds were in his favor? NEWSWEEK seems to rationalize this illegal activity by observing that the $3,000-to-$5,000 settlements being contemplated are "a couple of nights in a luxury suite" for a "wealthy record executive," perpetuating the misconception that the only people harmed by this kind of theft are highly paid. What about songwriters, studio musicians and recording technicians whose livelihoods depend on audiences' buying the material they enjoy? Would NEWSWEEK excuse people who sneak into movie theaters without paying or who steal books from bookstores?

PHILIP GERSON
STUDIO CITY, CALIF.

AS A FORMER MEMBER OF THE RECORDing Industry Association of America and a father of two musical children, I have never traded music on the Internet. I don't condone this "hobby," but by suing children the RIAA has stepped way over the line. Maybe the artificially sky-high prices of CDs and the refusal to address this issue are among the reasons that fans are downloading. Whatever the reason, I am incensed enough to cancel all of my family's music-buying subscriptions and advocate that all my friends do so as well, and I will be busily ripping copies of my extensive music collection for anyone who wants it. After all, I pay a hefty tax to the RIAA on all blank recording media, CD burners and tape recorders for this privilege.

J. ALAN ECKES
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N.Y.

On the Loose, Still

SHORTLY AFTER 9/11, GEORGE W. BUSH stated that "we will make no distinction between the terrorists ... and those who harbor them." Apparently, this no longer applies. As you point out in "Why Can't We Get Him?" (Sept. 22), Taliban forces and Al Qaeda—perhaps including Osama bin Laden and his top deputy, Ayman Al-Zawahiri—are being harbored by the people of Waziristan. If that is the case, then it is Bush's duty and responsibility to live up to his words and to deliver to the tribal leaders of Waziristan that same ultimatum, and to act against them if they refuse. Or perhaps, as is the case with the Saudi princes and sheiks who finance Al Qaeda, these people

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Letters

are also exempt from the president's stated policies. Bush may hope that if he doesn't mention bin Laden's name, we might forget him. But I can assure him that this is one Republican voter who has not forgotten.

JON ANDERSON
NEW YORK, N.Y.

MY SON JUST RETURNED FROM eight months in Afghanistan with the 82d Airborne, chasing bin Laden and the Taliban. Why can't we find him? One reason may be our inability to chase the bad guys back into Pakistan, Bush's "friend and ally" in the region. And the Pakistanis can't (or won't) go into Waziristan, a province controlled by a well-armed warlord who supported the Taliban. Or perhaps we can't find bin Laden because the administration has poured its energy into the deepening quagmire in Iraq, while seemingly ignoring the unfinished but obviously still important job in Afghanistan.

TERRY KEITH
CHARLOTTE, N.C.

So That We Will Never Forget

AS A LIBERTARIAN, I RARELY AGREE with Anna Quindlen, but I thought her suggestion about a national day of remembrance and service on September 11 was brilliant ("We Are Here for Andrea," Sept. 22). We should never forget coming together as a nation of individuals as we did on that day, and a day of volunteerism is a great way to connect with people and to keep that can-do spirit from fading completely. "How can I help?" What a great phrase for all of us to use as a national motto!

BRUCE SHELLENBAUM
ANCHORAGE, ALASKA

BRAVO TO ANNA QUINDLEN FOR SO eloquently stating how September 11 should be remembered: as a day of service to others. But we shouldn't wait for Congress to declare September 11 an official day of remembrance before we get involved in our community. We should do it now. Quindlen's piece inspired me to visit my local Red Cross chapter and ask, "How can I help?" I hope there are others like me in this great country who feel that that's the least they can do to preserve the memories of special people like 9/11 victim Andrea Haberman.

KRISTI LEONARD
EDMOND, OKLA.

The Wrong Analogy

NICKI GOSTIN'S Q&A WITH SARAH Jessica Parker (NEWSMAKERS, Sept. 15), in which the actress equated rescuing either Manolo Blahnik shoes or a Kelly bag from her burning apartment to the heart-wrenching decision made by the title character in William Styron's "Sophie's Choice," was disappointing. To compare the fictional but nightmarish dilemma of a mother forced to value the life of one child over another to the choice of saving either a pair of shoes or a handbag is insensitive and misguided. During the Holocaust, people were forced to make choices that haunted them for decades, yet for many survivors like myself, these choices saved lives, not anything purchasable in a boutique on Madison Avenue. Shame on Sarah Jessica Parker, and shame on your reporter for calling Parker's "Sophie's Choice" comment "perfect."

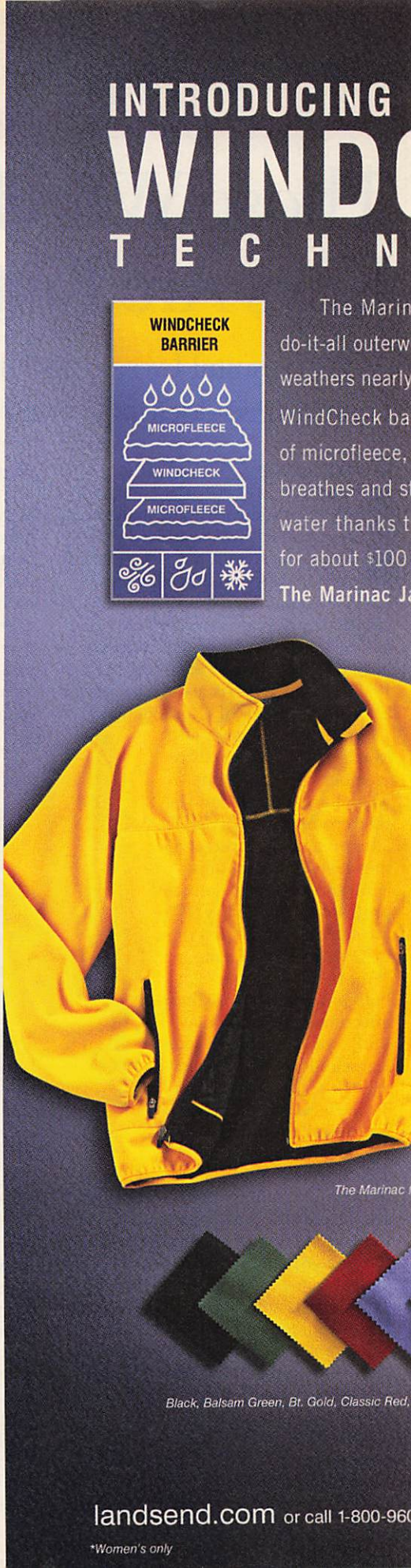
FANYA GOTTESFELD HELLER
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Corrections

DUE TO A DESIGN ERROR, WE DID not name the source for the Sept. 29 graphic "Early Bird Gets the Win" in the article "The Water Walker." The source was "In Pursuit of the White House 2000: How We Choose Our Presidential Nominees," edited by William G. Mayer *(Chatham House)*.

IN THE SEPT. 22 MY TURN, "THE Disease Is Silent. We Don't Have to Be," we incorrectly stated that a Pap smear is a test for uterine cancer. The Pap smear primarily detects cervical cancer, and is not a test for uterine cancer unless cells from an advanced uterine cancer have shed to the cervix.

IN "A WAR'S RISING TOLL" (SEPT. 15), which lists the casualties of the war on terror, we inadvertently omitted two victims. Navy Lt. Cmdr. Christopher M. Blaschum, 35, of Virginia Beach, Va., died on March 2, 2002, while on a training mission over the Mediterranean Sea. Alexander S. Jackson Jr., 53, of San Antonio, Texas, died on May 28, 2003, as a result of injuries received in a May 12 bombing in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Also, Johnny Micheal Spann was killed in November 2001, not 2002. And M/Sgt. William L. Payne was from Otsego, Mich., not Clarkston, Wash.



Those Who Hold the Keys Are Listening

At the hospital I was committed to as a teenager, I confronted doctors I once considered the 'enemy'

BY MINDY LEWIS

I STAND AT THE PODIUM LOOKING out at the audience: more than a hundred psychiatrists, psychiatric residents, supervisors, psychologists and other members of the hospital staff. It is a momentous day for me. I am the guest speaker at psychiatric grand rounds, part of the residency-training program at the hospital where I lived from the age of 15 to 18. I was invited to talk about what it was like to be hospitalized as an adolescent.

Joining me onstage is Dr. Michael Stone. I vaguely remember Dr. Stone from when I was a patient and he was a young psychiatrist. He later became the director of the adolescent and young-adult service and an eminent professor of psychiatry. We are meeting for the first time in 35 years. His greeting, "For Auld Lang Syne," is both ironic and surprisingly affectionate. I never knew, until today, that before medical school Dr. Stone was a scholar of Greek and Latin. To me he was just the enemy, like all the others.

I tell my story: I was a self-conscious adolescent caught up in the '60s drug culture, truant from high school and at war with my mother. Recently remarried and bewildered by the change in her formerly sunny daughter, my mother took the advice of psychiatrists and remanded me to state custody for long-term treatment. But being in the hospital only raised the stakes—within months I changed from a rebellious teenager to a desperate girl who drank poison and cut herself with razor blades, and was described in my hospital records as "hopeless," "psychotic," "autistic."

Now, speaking softly into the microphone, I recall the other kids on the ward. Marjee, a 13-year-old beauty from Oklahoma—my best friend. Nick, brilliant, handsome, enigmatic, obsessed with death—my first lover. With little else to do, we devoted ourselves to "inappropriate behavior" with the creative irreverence of budding young nihilists. Sluggish from Thorazine and clad in hospital pajamas, we were determined to find our own identities, even if we destroyed ourselves in the process.

PHOTOGRAPH BY LISA KERESZI FOR NEWSWEEK

GIRL, INTERRUPTED: I speak for that frightened 15-year-old who thought her life was over, but also for those who took their own lives

Here, on this stage, I straddle time, fully mindful of the connection between "me" back then and the grown woman I am today: an artist, a writer, but most of all a survivor. I speak not only for that frightened 15-year-old who thought her life was over, but also for Marjee and Nick and so many others who took their lives, unable to get past the damage of those haunted years. I was one of the lucky ones. After being discharged at 18, I rebuilt my life without the help of psychiatry. But always, I felt marked by my experience.

"All's well that ends well," Dr. Stone intones as he takes the podium. He talks about how the system has changed. In the old days, he says, prolonged hospitalization was considered therapeutic. But I've heard from other doctors that there was also a hidden agenda: extended stays made it easier to train residents by allowing them to work with patients over time. Today, with managed care, there is no more long-term hospitalization. Instead, people are medicated and released. There are new drugs and new diagnoses. When I was hospitalized, almost all the patients, myself included, were diagnosed as schizophrenic. By current standards, only one in six would be.

Dr. Stone shares stories of former patients. He talks about those who, like me, were kept far too long, others for whom the hospital was a shelter that saved them from unspeakable abuse. The "creatives," he adds, did the best in the long run, going on to lead more or less happy, productive lives. He expresses some nostalgia for the days when doctors could get to know their patients well enough to follow up with them years later.

The audience is invited to speak. One of my former psychiatrists stands and proclaims that as a young resident, he had been as much a prisoner of an ethos as I was, and has spent the rest of his professional life making up for it. Another psychiatrist even raises the possibility of offering reparations to those patients unintentionally wronged. (I suggest possibly inviting other former patients to share their perspectives.)

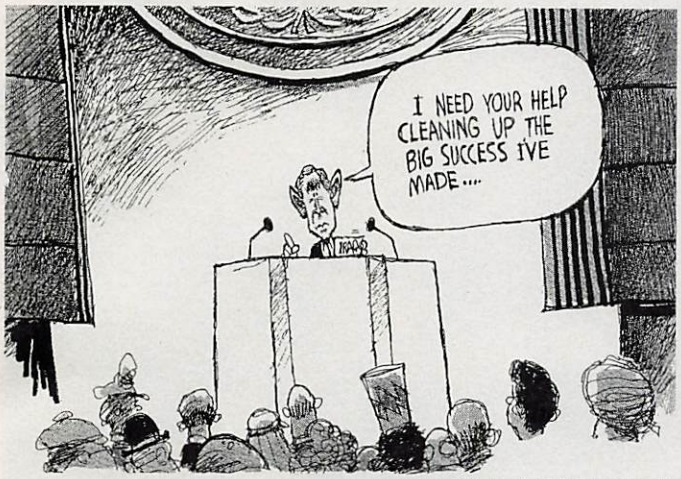
At lunch, the discussion continues. The residents, shy at first, join in. One young doctor recounts his efforts to reach an adolescent who would not speak in session but who later opened up on outings for pizza and Ping-Pong. Like the other residents, he is eager to hear my point of view. It's a moment I've waited a lifetime for. Those who hold the keys are finally listening.

Sitting at the head of the table with Dr. Stone, I am overcome by a surreal ecstasy at the unlikelihood and privilege of this, my prodigal return. But I also know that this day will pass, and many of my questions will go unanswered. All I can do is tell my story and, in so doing, make reparations to myself.

LEWIS is the author of "Life Inside: A Memoir."

"Saddam would have done better with less words."

Iraqi newspaper vendor **Abdel-Razq Mohammed,** on President George W. Bush's unapologetic speech to the United Nations



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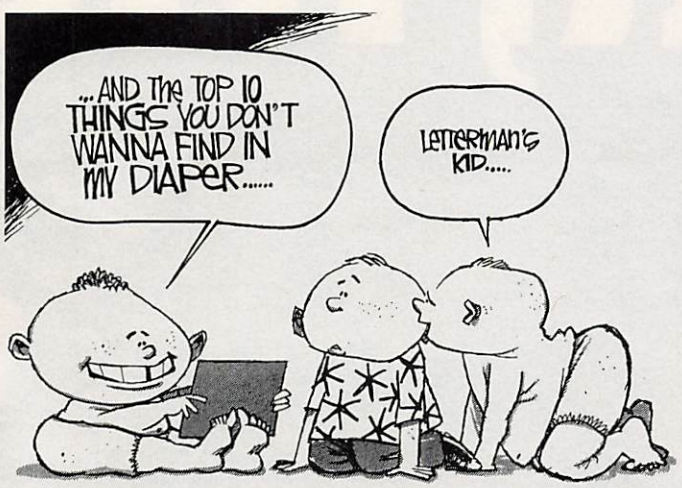
"We don't have a Patriot Act in the NBA. That means you're innocent until proven guilty." NBA Commissioner **David Stern,** on whether Kobe Bryant should play for the Los Angeles Lakers this season despite facing a potential trial for a sexual-assault charge

"Am I in enemy territory?" Veteran White House journalist **Helen Thomas,** after loud applause met her declaration that George W. Bush is "more conservative than any president I've ever covered" in a speech at Brigham Young University

"There are much fewer communists than before ... We also have gorgeous secretaries." Italian Prime Minister **Silvio Berlusconi,** on why U.S. businessmen should invest in his country

"Even my dog wants to hump you." Talk-show host **Sharon Osbourne,** to Latin pop heartthrob Julio Iglesias Jr.



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"I have defended telemarketers. Feel free to call me; someone is always there." **Tucker Carlson,** cohost of CNN's "Crossfire," who instead gave the number for Fox News's Washington bureau. Fox retaliated by publishing Carlson's home phone number on its Web site.

"It wasn't the second helping on all-you-can-eat but the third." Red Lobster chairman **Joe R. Lee,** on what caused an all-you-can-eat crab promotion to sap the company's profits, prompting the seafood chain to replace its existing president

"I have a perfect part for you in my movie 'Terminator 4'." California gubernatorial candidate **Arnold Schwarzenegger,** to candidate Arianna Huffington, possibly alluding to "Terminator 3," in which his character plunges a woman's head into a toilet bowl. Schwarzenegger claims the comment was meant to be complimentary.

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"I'll be at the front door when you get home from work, wearing only what nature gave me." Excerpt from a faux personal ad, circulated via e-mail, for a "single black female" named Daisy. More than 15,000 men have called, only to discover that the ad refers to a black Labrador retriever and the number belongs to the Atlanta Humane Society.

"I was trying to keep her out of my lap. She was trying to get next to me and lick my neck. No, I'm only kidding." Liberty County, Ga., Sheriff **J. Don Martin,** on the visit Jennifer Lopez and Ben Affleck made to his office to inquire about a gun permit

"If you catch him, just give me four seconds with Saddam Hussein." Actor **Bruce Willis,** after offering $1 million to the soldier who captures the ousted Iraqi leader

"Thank you, Brazil!" Singer **Alanis Morissette,** in Lima, Peru

QUOTATION SOURCES FROM TOP TO BOTTOM, LEFT TO RIGHT: ASSOCIATED PRESS, LOS ANGELES TIMES, DAILY HERALD, AFP, "THE SHARON OSBOURNE SHOW," WORLD NET DAILY, ASSOCIATED PRESS, STATE HORNET (SACRAMENTO), ATLANTA JOURNAL-

Campaign 2004

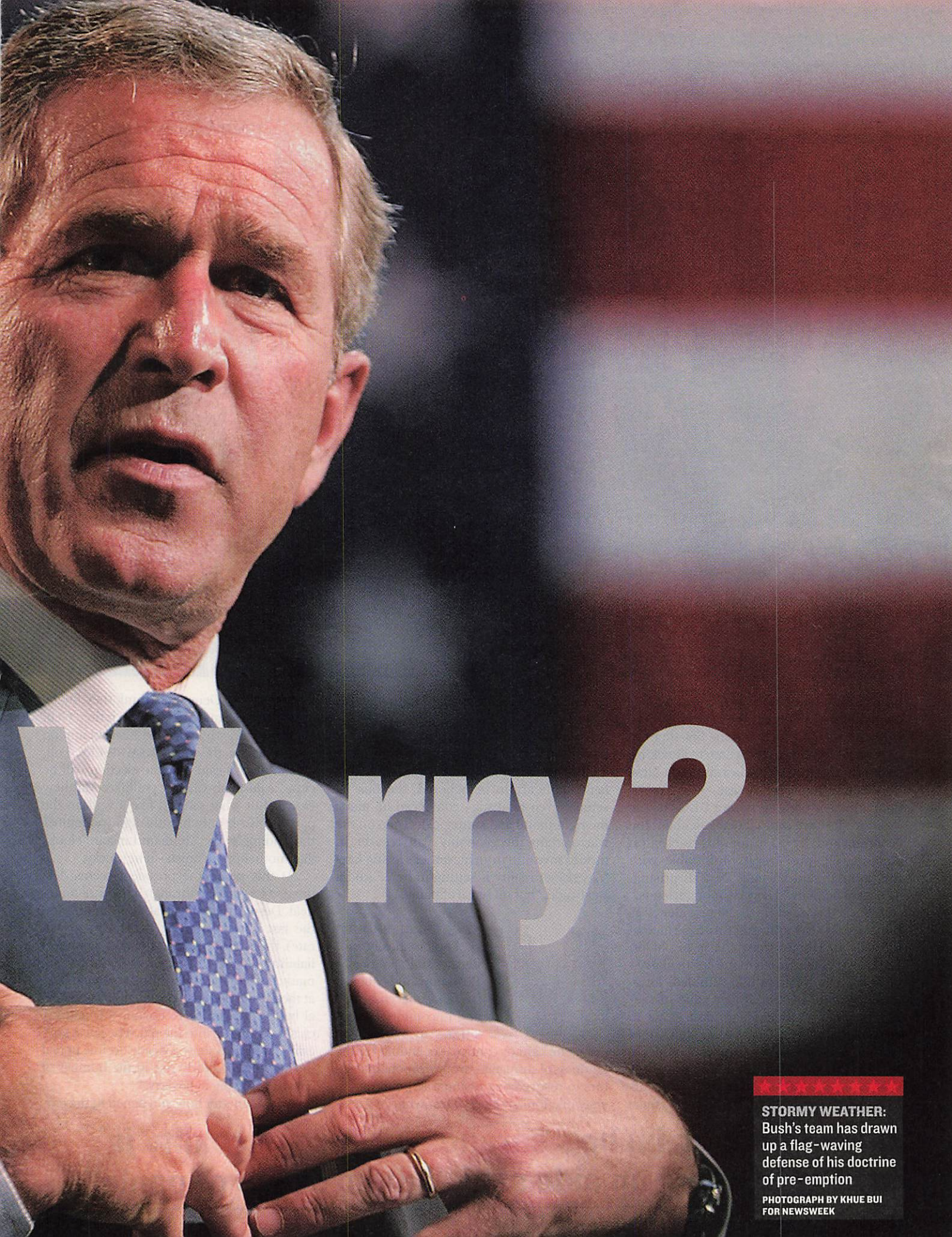
HOME ALONE: The numbers are off. The world won't heed his call to arms. But if Bush is fretting about his future, he won't show it. Inside Karl Rove's game plan.

BY HOWARD FINEMAN AND TAMARA LIPPER

TWO SEPTEMBERS AGO, GEORGE W. Bush seemed to have found a home in Manhattan. Standing on the rubble of the World Trade Center, bullhorn in hand, the president summoned a seething country and a sympathetic world to join in a new war on worldwide terrorism. Mayor Rudy Giuliani owned New York City, of course, but a guy from Texas with a knack for street-level inspiration had made his own bid for condo rights.

What, Me

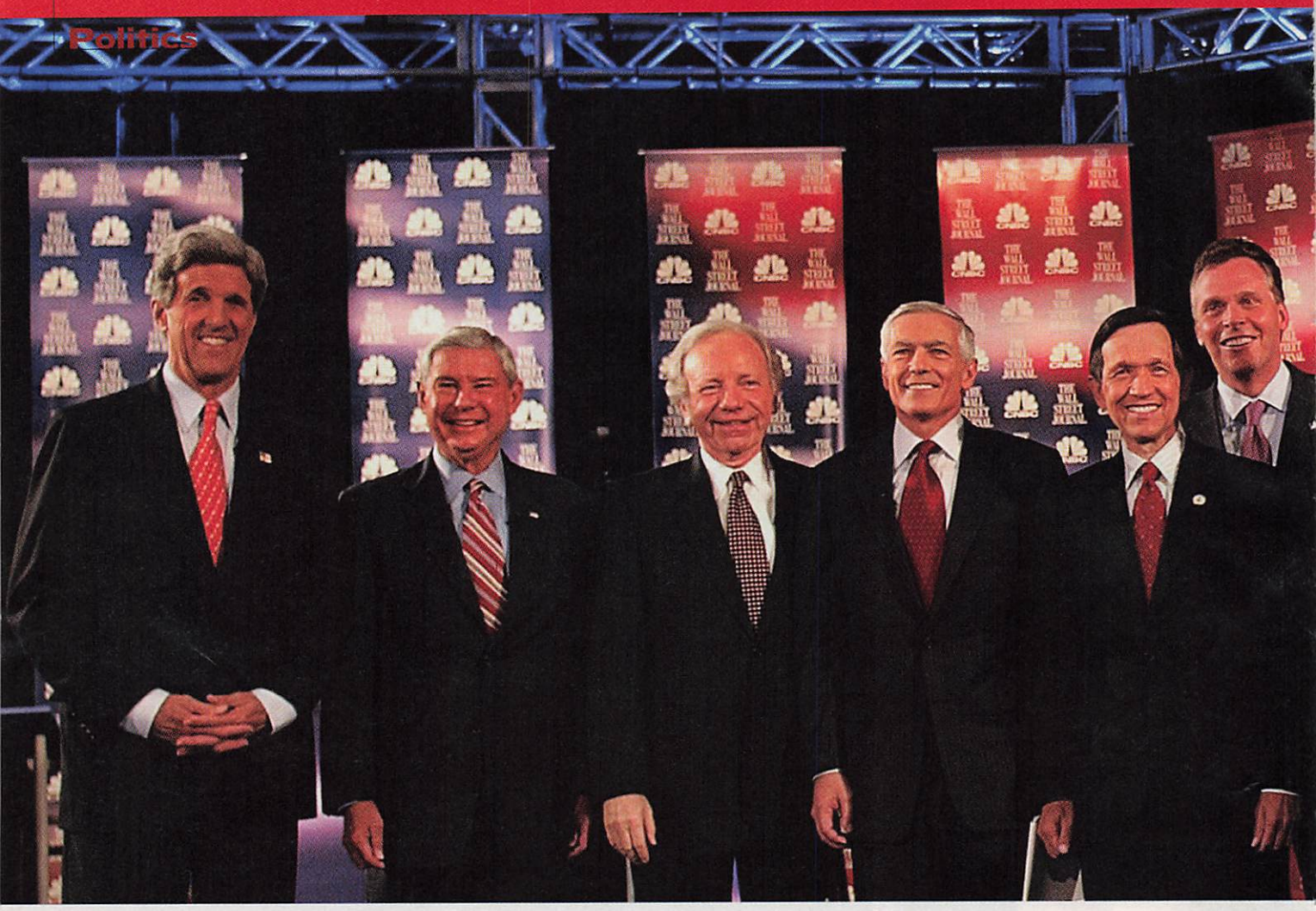
Last week Bush was back in town—only this time he clearly was in enemy territory. The U.N. General Assembly gave his stay-the-course speech on Iraq a cold reception. A tête-à-tête with French President Jacques Chirac turned frosty when Bush issued a blunt "I disagree with you" to Chirac's assertion that Iraqis saw the U.S. presence as an "occupation." The atmosphere was just as chilly elsewhere. The New York-based national media had long since turned hostile, for the most



Worry?

STORMY WEATHER: Bush's team has drawn up a flag-waving defense of his doctrine of pre-emption

PHOTOGRAPH BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK



part; a big posse of Democratic presidential contenders was on its way to the city, there to spend hours of debate time blasting the president (when they weren't attacking each other). Only in his last hours in New York could Bush feel at ease—at a closed-door meeting with corporate CEOs at the Waldorf. It was a mutual pep talk about the economy and, by extension, his re-election chances. He was "very comfortable with this group," said an aide. Not surprising, said a participant. "He was among friends."

This is the arc of the Bush presidency as the election season begins: from Prince of the City to Home Alone. As is his habit, Karl Rove, Bush's meticulous political mastermind, has a carefully assembled, long-term '04 plan. In sum, it is: a state-of-the-art, precinct-by-precinct ground game to get out the base; a flag-waving defense of Bush's "doctrine of pre-emption" and the Patriot Act; an equally stout defense of tax cuts, with the parallel dare to Democrats to "raise" taxes; finally, a depiction of Bush as a decent, resolute man of faith—a rock in parlous times.

As usual, Bush's inner circle professes the kind of wildcatter's bravado the president learned to admire in west Texas. If Bush's lieutenants are to be believed, the Boss is serene, even fatalistic—convinced he made the right moral and strategic decision on the war, certain the economy will recover in time to save him from his father's losing fate. "A sense of reality is setting in here," said a Bush aide, "but no sense of panic."

MAYBE THERE SHOULD be. Diplomatically, militarily and politically, Bush now finds himself in an unaccustomed and uncomfortable position: a hostage to events he cannot control, depending on the kindness of strangers—from weapons inspectors to restive congressional Republicans to erstwhile foreign allies. Meanwhile, a growing number of Democrats think they finally have found the man to beat him: retired Gen. Wesley Clark, who widened his lead among Democrats in the latest NEWSWEEK Poll. "We've always said that the election will be close," said Bush-Cheney polltaker Matthew Dowd. But what seemed like a walk in the park for Bush only months ago (remember the landing on the Abraham Lincoln?) looks like another photo finish—if he's lucky.

At this point, the president seems destined to be running through a political minefield. Despite the pep talk at the Waldorf (and the last quarter's strong 3 percent growth rate), the economy, at this point, is a political liability. There is little chance that the stock market will return to the lofty position it held at the start of the Bush presidency. The federal budget, driven by recession, war and tax cuts, is plunging into the red. The latest government figures show a steady decline in real incomes and a steady rise in the number of Americans living in poverty.

And no matter how you pencil it, the em-

Bush's men claim he's serene. 'A sense of reality is setting in here,' an aide said, 'but no sense of panic.'

PHOTOGRAPHS BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

HERE WE COME: The Democratic candidates at the N.Y.C. debate (pictured above with DNC chair McAuliffe); the man with Bush's plan, Rove

ployment number—perhaps the ultimate political indicator—remains bleak. Total hourly employment—people getting paychecks—has dropped from 111.6 million to 108.3 million. While self-employment is rising (by choice and necessity), it's not rising fast enough to offset the growth in the labor force. As a result, the unemployment rate has risen from 4.2 percent to 6.1 percent. Bush told the CEOs that productivity is improving faster now than the economy is growing. The result: the dreaded "jobless recovery." As the economy picks up steam, he said, job growth will follow. He had better hope that's the case: as his dad learned to his dismay, voters' views of the economy tend to get locked in place in the spring of an election year.

The foreign-policy terrain is hardly more congenial. Despite Bush's (and Colin Powell's) pleas, putative allies remain unwilling to send more troops or much money to aid the U.S.-led effort in Iraq. Without a U.N. mandate or the world's embrace, Pentagon planners conceded late last week that they would have to dispatch more American soldiers—Reservists and the National Guard—to Iraq. The rising price of the conflict, in terms of money and lives lost or disrupted, is turning even Republican legislators antsy; several vowed to flyspeck the administration's $87 billion funding request for the war.

At the same time, the administration has been forced to admit that its most urgent reason for going to war in Iraq in the first place—the imminent threat supposedly posed by Saddam Hussein—now seems flimsy, at best. Even friends are becoming problematic. One of them is David Kay, whose preliminary report found no conclusive evidence that Saddam had had weapons of mass destruction, or programs to make them. Administration officials still expect to strike gold, so to speak. "I'll tell you what," said one Bush political insider. "We really need to find some f---in' WMD!"

But hope is not a plan, and Bush strategists have one; indeed, they have been crafting it and pursuing it for a year. The first objective is to try to discount, in advance, polls that show declines in Bush's standing. Such patterns are a historical inevitability, Bush's handlers say, and they're right. At this point in his first term, in 1983, Ronald Reagan was 16 points behind

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Sen. John Glenn in a test matchup; Bill Clinton was four points behind Sen. Bob Dole in 1995. Still, the newest NEWSWEEK Poll has enough gloomy data to keep the Bush spinners busy. Even though Bush's speech to the United Nations was popular (Americans want the U.N. to take over the war and its aftermath), his "re-elect" number is weak: 46 percent "yes" and 47 "no." His marks for handling the economy—by far the most important issue to voters—are at a low ebb, with 37 percent approving, 55 percent disapproving.

Another pre-emptive step is to crow about the supposed weakness and division in the Democratic field. Indeed, at a CNBC-Wall Street Journal debate at Pace University in Manhattan, there were nasty exchanges, especially between Howard Dean and Dick Gephardt, over the issue of Medicare, and the field does include some not-ready-for-prime-time players. But it's impossible to overstate just how hungry Democratic loyalists are to defeat Bush, and White House strategists cannot afford to be dismissive of any likely nominee, including Dean, whose give-'em-hell, anti-Washington persona is still lighting fires on the Net.

Clark may pose a special danger to the commander in chief: a battle-tested general with his own, internationalist theory for fighting terrorism and experience deploying it. Bush insiders won't talk about Clark for the record, but the decibels rise in private. They cite Pentagon scuttlebutt that the general is too hard-charging and manipulative to wear well for long. "He is a little too tightly wrapped," said one adviser. GOP operatives unearthed and released a two-year-old video in which the general lavishly praises the early leadership of President Bush and his administration. Still, the general's commando raid of a campaign is showing signs of taking hold. Unschooled in domestic matters (though he is being tutored by teams of former Clinton administration experts), he has inched ahead in his role as front runner among Democrats, with 16 percent support, compared with 12 percent for his closest rival, Dean.

The next strategic imperative for Rove & Co. is to accept the obvious: that the nation's post-9/11, rally-round-the-flag sense of unity has long since evanesced, and that the electorate is back to where it was: Red versus Blue, deeply divided, just as in the days when we were counting chad. "We're looking at, in effect, two nations that, on some level, barely seem to know or understand each other," said one GOP strategist. To oversimplify—but only slightly—that means maximizing turnout in your own nation, and forgetting what's going on in the other one.

To be sure, the Bush-Cheney re-election campaign (known on the inside as

The GOP's Ground Game

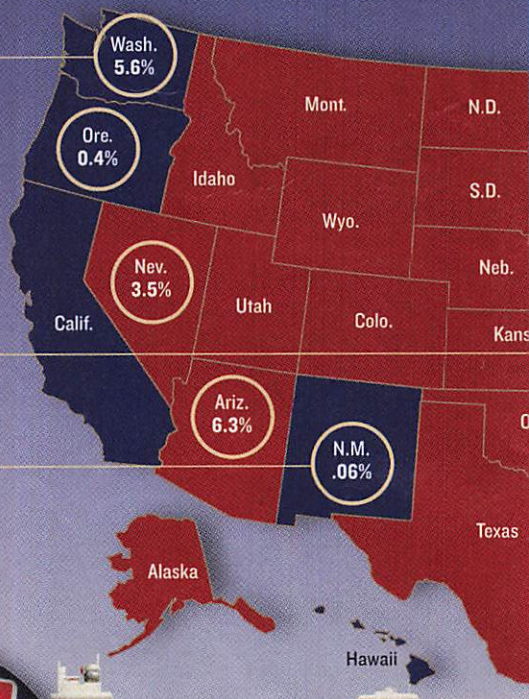
In a quiet offensive to win the close-call states of 2000, the Bush campaign is using focus groups to figure out how voters prefer to be contacted, compiling a database of individual profiles called the "voter vault" and enlisting 325,000 new "team leaders" to go out and spread the word.

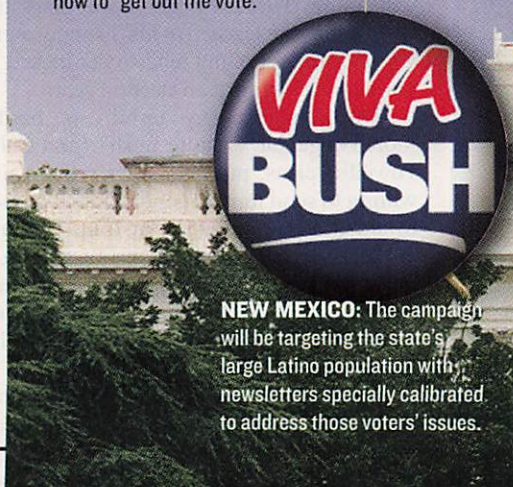
KEY

- **TARGET STATES:** States that Bush narrowly won or lost in 2000
- **BUSH 2000**
- **GORE 2000**
- % **MARGIN OF VICTORY IN 2000 ELECTION**

WASHINGTON: On the defensive here for his business-friendly stance on the environment, Bush traveled to a local dam, touting his record on salmon recovery.

MISSOURI: Rollout events, such as a recent all-day affair at a Jefferson City hotel, feature PowerPoint presentations that teach activists how to "get out the vote."

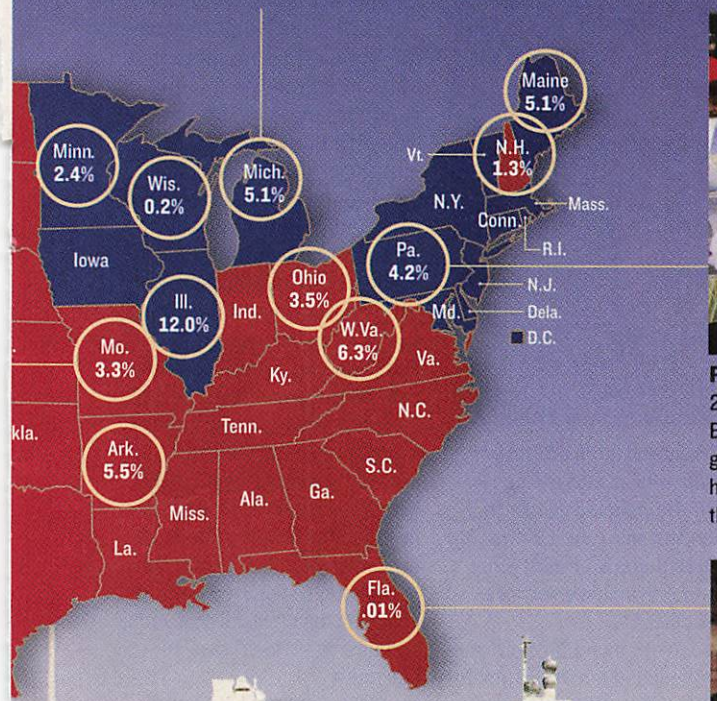




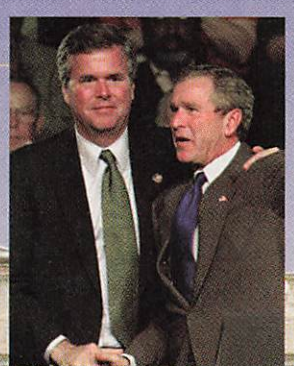
NEW MEXICO: The campaign will be targeting the state's large Latino population with newsletters specially calibrated to address those voters' issues.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: RANDY WELLS—CORBIS, JOE POLIMENI—GENERAL MOTORS-AP, JOSEPH KACZMAREK—AP, CHRIS O'MEARA—AP, KHUE BUI—AP, NO CREDIT, CLASSROOM PHOTO BY CORBIS, SCREEN IMAGE BY NEWSWEEK

MICHIGAN: With the state crippled by massive unemployment, Bush is mulling a repeal of the steel tariff that has bruised car manufacturers and the state's economy since it was levied last year.



PENNSYLVANIA: Visiting some 20 times since he was elected, Bush has tried to galvanize a grassroots network here. Recently he urged a crowd to campaign at their local coffee shops.



FLORIDA: With Jeb's state a must-win for George W. to prove the legitimacy of the 2000 election, the governor has appeared frequently throughout the state with his brother to rally support.

SOURCE: USELECTIONATLAS.ORG; REPORTED BY TAMARA LIPPER AND MEREDITH SADIN—NEWSWEEK

"BC04") will go to great lengths to woo voters who lie beyond what has come to be the traditional base of the party. Pollster Dowd is a leading advocate of outreach to Hispanics. A symbol of that effort is the backdrop campaign officials cart to press conferences coast to coast: it intersperses the words BUSH-CHENEY with VIVA! More substantively, GOP strategists insist that Bush's tough foreign policy, pro-business tax cuts and cultural traditionalism will earn him perhaps 40 percent of the Latino vote. "They used to be a Democratic constituency," said Dowd, "but now they are up for grabs." The same goes for Jewish voters, Bush strategists believe, at least for those who evaluate candidates based on the strength of their support for Israel. Pro-Israel activists think that the president, unrivaled in modern times for his down-the-line backing of the Jewish State, could win a third of the Jewish vote. That could matter big time in some of Rove's targeted states, chief among them Florida.

But the primary demographic objective of BC04 is more obvious: to increase turnout among families that consider themselves evangelical Christians. The GOP defines them as voters who say they are "born again" and who attend church regularly, at least four times a week. Rove and his team—led by campaign manager Ken Mehlman and regional director Ralph Reed—have carefully scrutinized exit-polling data in recent elections, and the Bushies frankly admire the success labor unions have had in recent years in turning out not only their members, but their members' extended families. One reason the GOP did well in last year's midterm elections, strategists say, is that it was able to best the labor unions at their own turnout game. In 2002, evangelicals composed 21 percent of the electorate, according to the polls. The Bush-Cheney aim this time is 24 percent. "These polls are an inexact science, but that's the goal," said Reed.

The real trick, Rove & Co. know, is to get the Red in the right places, amplifying evangelical (and other voter group) turnout in precincts that could tip wavering states into Bush's column next year. Population shifts already have helped Bush. Growth in the West and South, and declines in the East and Midwest, mean that a rerun of the 2000 race would raise Bush's victory margin in the Electoral College from four votes to 18.

Bush-Cheney has identified 17 states on which to focus in '04: ones Bush either narrowly won or lost, or where demographic changes are viewed as especially favorable.

With little fanfare or national press coverage, President Bush and his political minions have been traveling these states in recent months, laying the groundwork. The Republican National Committee will have perhaps $200 million to spend—much of it on a laser-targeted, precinct-by-precinct turnout operation that will spring to life in the last 72 hours of the campaign next year. By e-mail and snail mail, door to door and word of mouth, Republicans are planning to narrowcast discrete appeals—on everything from taxes to gun control—on a voter-by-voter basis. Rove made his money in direct mail, and it's still the way he tends to work.

But this machinery of pointillistic politics won't succeed without a popular leader and an inspiring message. Bush's advisers see him as the ultimate "get out the vote" device, a president whose popularity at the GOP grass roots meets or exceeds that of Ronald Reagan. Evangelicals see him as one of their own. His policies—from a Manichaean definition of the war on terrorism to support for faith-based programs—are designed to make sure "the base" continues to view him in that worshipful way. Rove & Co. will market their man (who, in fact, loves the granular detail of political gamesmanship) as a beacon of principle, unwilling

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Kofi Annan was a quiet diplomat reluctant to battle America. An assault on the United Nations in Iraq changed all that.

Phoenix From the Ashes

BY RICHARD WOLFFE

Inside the dowdy lobby of the United Nations headquarters, opposite a collection of children's paintings about world peace, there's a photo display of about two dozen U.N. officials. Through the course of last week, as the world's leaders met nearby, a steady procession of U.N. staff would walk up to the photos, shake their heads and sigh.

The photos are only the most visible reminder of the United Nations' trauma since a truck bomb destroyed its offices in Baghdad last month. To U.N. officials, the pictures of their fallen colleagues are a daily reminder of the deep sense of dismay and discomfort they feel about rebuilding Iraq.

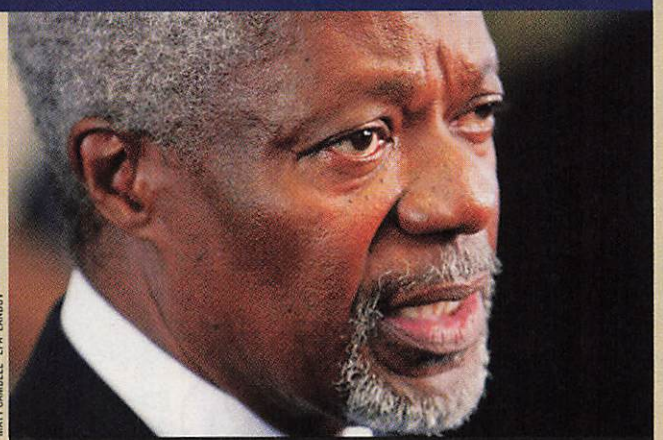
For Kofi Annan, the United Nations' mild-mannered secretary-general, Iraq has become the biggest personal and professional crisis of his career. Annan was already taking the heat from world leaders—especially in South Africa, Brazil and the gulf states—to condemn President George W. Bush's war and his roughing up of the Security Council earlier this year. Many poorer countries accused Annan of being far too pro-American.

But the Baghdad bombing—considered by many at the United Nations to be their own 9/11—turned the policy dispute into a personal disaster for Annan. With the death of his protégé Sergio Vieira de Mello, Annan lost a close friend and found his leadership under fire. Faced with a bitter staff and a divided world, Annan emerged last week with a sharp rebuke not just to Bush but to the rest of the Security Council. In a speech to the General Assembly in Manhattan, Annan cast Bush's policy of pre-emptive strikes as a threat to "world peace and stability." Yet he also warned Bush's critics that the Security Council needed to confront America's worst fears by fighting against terrorists and the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. "He was emotionally affected because Sergio was probably the best he had," says one former State Department official who is close to Annan. "He wants to galvanize opinion and point out that the United Nations can't work without authority in these very dangerous places."

Annan has a far bigger dream than rebuilding Iraq: he wants to push through a sweeping set of reforms before he leaves office in 2006. At the heart of those reforms is the monumental task of making the Security Council more decisive, more representative and more effective—whether against terrorism, illegal weapons or genocide. That means tackling the emotional question of which country should join, or be bumped from, the exclusive club of permanent members wielding vetoes—a club limited, at present, to the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain. Annan also wants to reform the sprawling U.N. system, reining in its many independent agencies to bring them under stricter control at headquarters in New York.

President Bush may have urged the world's leaders to "move forward" last week. But Annan showed that the United Nations is deeply uneasy about going anywhere in Iraq, and has yet to recover from the war itself. Two days after Bush appealed for international help, Annan ordered the temporary withdrawal of most of the United Nations' foreign staff after another suicide bombing of the U.N. building in Baghdad. "Frankly, there is something not far off panic among U.N. staff," says one senior aide to Annan. For the moment, the Security Council is playing its old game of setting high goals with little means of reaching them. "They keep dumping the United Nations in difficult situations without giving sufficiently clear instructions of what we're supposed to do, or adequate resources to do it, either financial or military," says Annan's aide.

Many distraught U.N. staff members blame that woolly, underfunded mandate for the deaths of their friends last month. That distress only complicates Annan's historic ambition to overhaul the Security Council. It's hard enough to corral the world's headstrong rulers while they're still fighting over the future of Iraq. It's harder still when your own staff feels their lives may depend on the outcome.



MATT CAMBELL—EPA-LANDOV

A NEW DAY: Annan, spurred by the trauma of the bombing, is undertaking a dramatic reform of the Security Council

to bend on the war abroad or on fiscal and tax policy at home.

It's a risky strategy. The war in Iraq, a dicey proposition at best, could turn catastrophic with one truck bomb. The mounting deficit could sink the dollar or the recovery, or both. It's also dangerous to turn the struggle between Red and Blue states into a moral clash of black and white. If you argue, as Bush does, that we are fighting evil, then, by extension, anyone who opposes you (including the Democrats) is in league with evil. The notion could scare as many voters as it attracts, not to mention dividing the country even more bitterly. The president won't say as much, of course, but some of his more enthusiastic and unscrupulous supporters (and maybe a cabinet member or two) surely will.

In fact, Bush may have no choice, since his strategy was set in motion the moment he decided to go to war in Iraq. It was one of the most fateful presidential calls in recent decades, and one Bush had to know would define his presidency and determine his, and its, fate. Bush and Rove are confident enough about that decision that they chose Madison Square Garden, hard by 9/11 hallowed ground, as the site for the Republican convention next year. It will be another September in Manhattan, and it will be interesting to see if George W. Bush is able to feel at home.

With T. TRENT GEGAX and RICHARD WOLFFE in New York

DIPLOMACY

The French have staked out a position as the Un-America. But that doesn't mean their advice is necessarily wrong.

Iraq's Mr. Popularity

BY CHRISTOPHER DICKEY

What is wrong with those Iraqis? The United States and Britain freed them from Saddam Hussein and, sure, the vast majority say that's great: a poll released last week finds that 62 percent think liberty is worth the hardship. But they don't much like their liberators. The same Gallup poll shows their preferred country by far is—get this—France. And their favorite leader? Jacques Chirac! The French president's approval rating tops George W. Bush's by 13 points in Baghdad. Tony Blair couldn't get elected dogcatcher.

It would be a mistake to read too much into this. Polls are just political beauty contests. But clearly it's a milestone on Chirac's road to the title of Mr. Un-America.

In the months since the Iraq crisis began, France has positioned itself shrewdly, not so much as the enemy of the United States, but as the forthright alternative to the Bush administration's with-us-or-against-us view of the world. Righteous crusades against evil, the French warned, can have evil consequences of their own. Even the best-intentioned occupiers of foreign lands will find themselves reviled by people anxious to control their own destinies.

How Gaulling, for the Americans, that the French could be proved right. When Paris tried to slow or stop America's rush to invade Iraq—arguing that there were better ways than war to find Baghdad's supposed weapons of mass destruction—it was denounced by Americans as petty, perverse and obstructionist. Nine months later the French position looks prudent, even prescient.

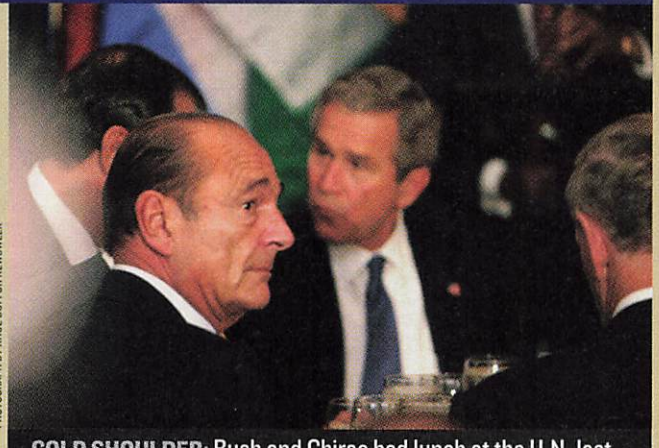
Today France is at it again. Playing to the court of world opinion, and popular sentiment in Iraq, it demands a U.S. handover of Iraqi sovereignty as soon as possible. French motives might be self-serving (mais non!), but the advice could still be solid. The United States argues, however, that a quick turnover to a weak council will only ensure more chaos. The problem is that neither the United States nor the French seem able to make the concessions necessary to meld their two visions into a workable policy.

Last week's diplomacy wasn't reassuring. Addressing the United Nations, Bush spoke of "self-government for the people of Iraq" (not "sovereignty") and declared that peace and stability could best be reached by "an orderly and democratic process ... neither hurried nor delayed by other parties." But if order and democracy are prerequisites for independence, that looks far away.

As the French see it, the Americans are riding the proverbial tiger, afraid to dismount. The longer the United States tries to hold on, the more humiliated—and angry—many Iraqis will feel. "In a proud region, the Iraqis stand out," says a member of the American team that helped organize the Governing Council of 25 Iraqis. "Even the ones close to us are incredibly uncomfortable with being occupied. The more time goes by, the less support we'll have."

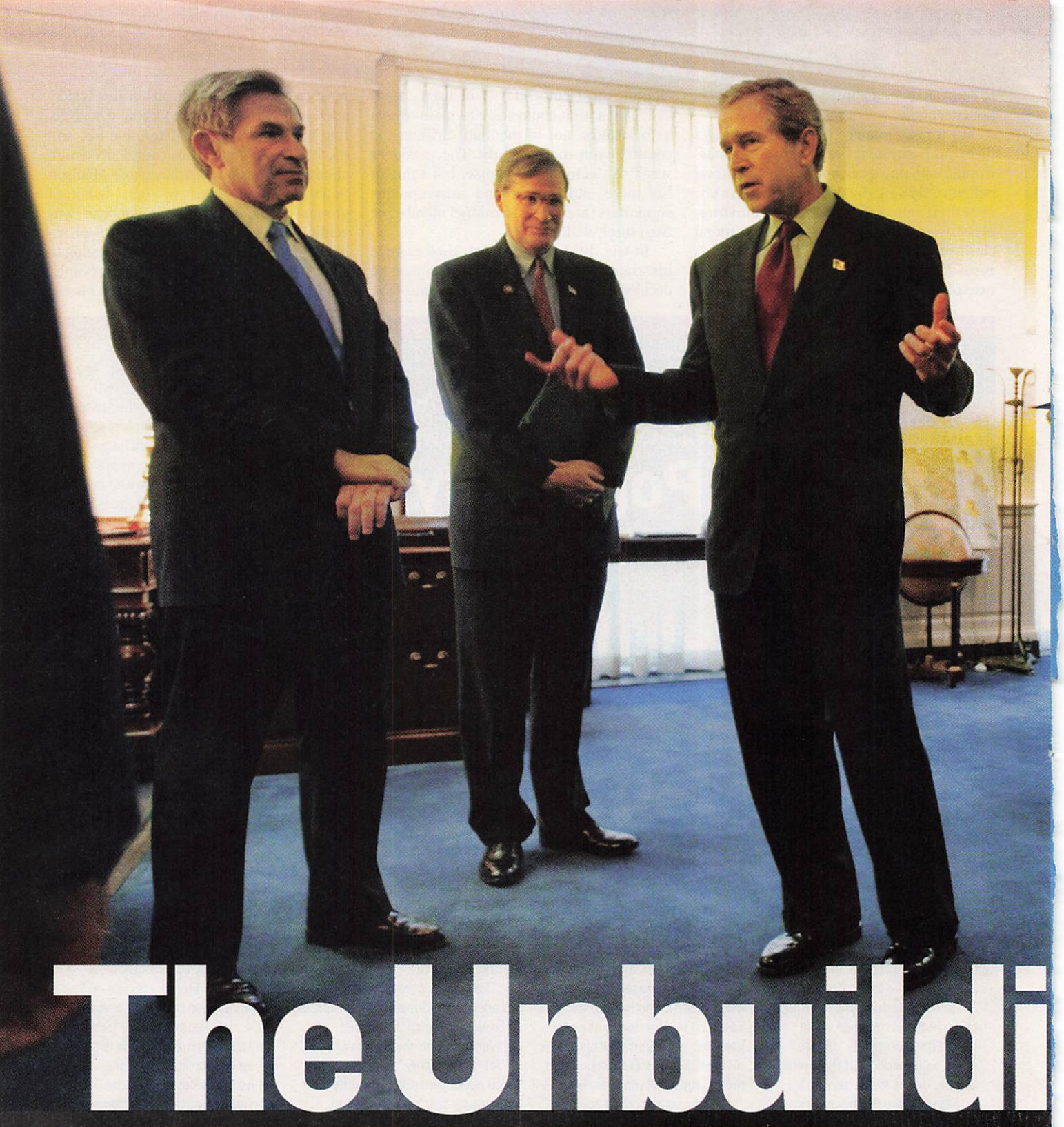
Late last week, in an attempt to win more international support before a crucial donor's conference in late October, Secretary of State Colin Powell announced a loose deadline of one year for Iraqis to write a constitution and hold elections. Bush also promised a bigger role for the United Nations. But Chirac is sticking to his more radical solution. Returning sovereignty to the Iraqi people right away would end (at least juridically) the humiliating U.S.-British occupation. Violence would then subside, as the French see it, and international support would grow. The United Nations and the United States could get on with rebuilding Iraq's administrative, security and financial institutions "according to a realistic calendar," Chirac said.

There may be a compromise lurking here. French officials accept that America would command a U.N.-mandated security force. They also say they're ready to recognize the current Governing Council—handpicked by the Americans—as the sovereign government of Iraq. "We ought to take that and run with it," says a veteran of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad. But after a 45-minute meeting between Chirac and Bush, both leaders were unmoved. Thus it's on to round two at the United Nations this week—and, doubtless, more Franco-American finger-pointing.



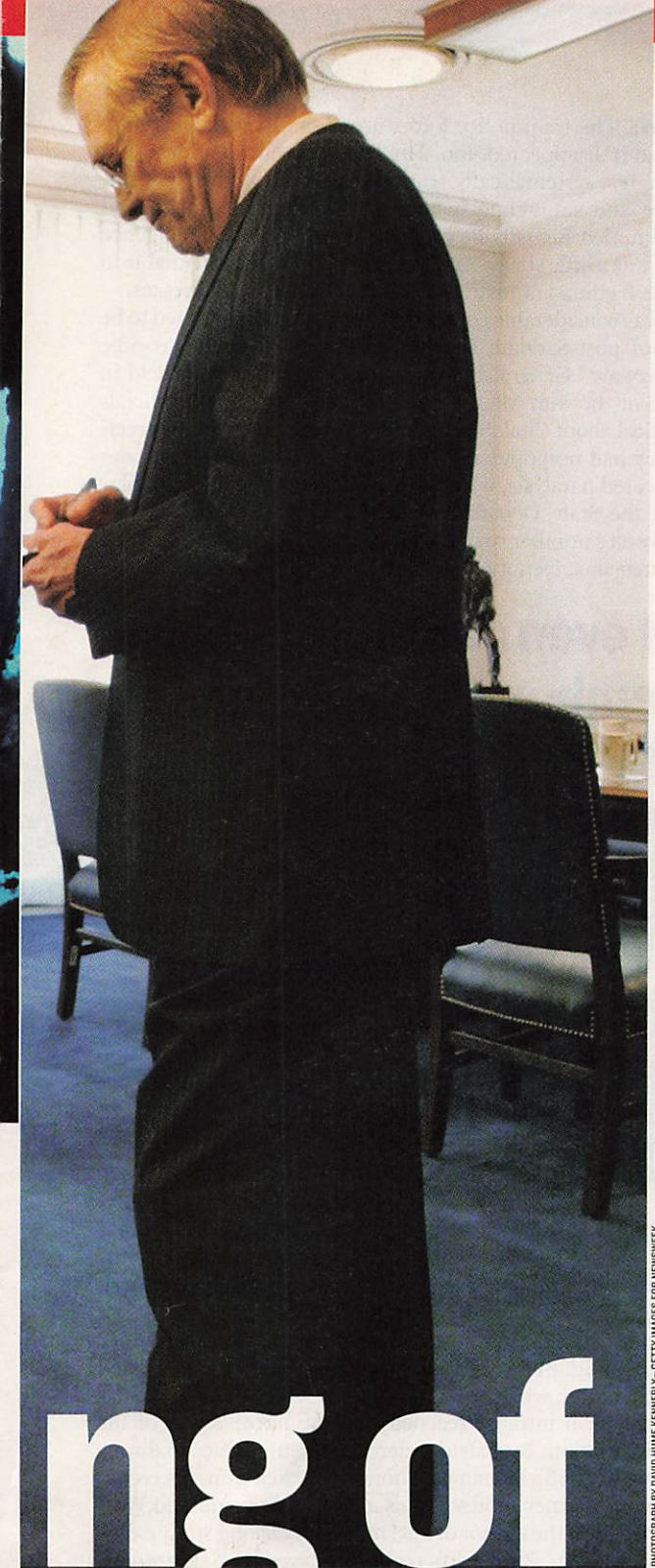
PHOTOGRAPH BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

COLD SHOULDER: Bush and Chirac had lunch at the U.N. last week, but neither seemed eager to patch up their differences



The Unbuildi

PERFECT STORM: Wrongheaded assumptions. Ideological blinders. Weak intelligence, missteps, poor coordination and bad luck. How Team Bush's reconstruction efforts went off the rails from day one.



PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID HUME KENNERLY—GETTY IMAGES FOR NEWSWEEK

ng of Iraq

BY JOHN BARRY AND EVAN THOMAS

THE IRAQ WAR HAD YET TO BEGIN, BUT some nasty fighting was already going on back in Washington between the Department of Defense and the Department of State. Last February, retired Lt. Gen. Jay Garner was trying to put together a team of experts to rebuild Iraq after the war was over, and his list included 20 State Department officials. The day before he was supposed to leave for the region, Garner got a call from Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, who ordered him to cut 16 of the 20 State officials from his roster. It seems that the State Department people were deemed to be Arabist apologists, or squishy about the United Nations, or in some way politically incorrect to the right-wing ideologues at the White House or the neocons in the office of the Secretary of Defense. The vetting process "got so bad that even doctors sent to restore medical services had to be anti-abortion," recalled one of Garner's team. Finally, Secretary of State Colin Powell tried to stand up for his troops and stop Rumsfeld's meddling. "I can take hostages, too," Powell warned the secretary of Defense. "How hard do you want to play this thing?"

Pretty hard. Powell lost, as he often does in the councils of the Bush war cabinet, and Rumsfeld had his way. Only one of the 16 State officials was restored to Garner's reconstruction team. It was a petty triumph, but emblematic of Rumsfeld's dominating, sometimes overbearing style. Rumsfeld was not a rogue elephant. In much of what he did, Rumsfeld himself was following orders. The hidden hand of the White House (read: Vice President Dick Cheney) was decisive in many of the behind-the-scenes struggles over postwar policymaking in Iraq. But President George W. Bush put the Defense Department in charge of both invading Iraq and rebuilding it after the war. Since 9/11, the secretary of Defense has been a brilliant war leader. Yet when it comes to making peace, he has been guilty of almost willful denial. His deep reluctance to use the American military for "peacekeeping" and "nation-building"—he scorns the very terms—threatens to wrest defeat from the jaws of victory in Iraq.

PLAN? WHAT PLAN? Wolfowitz, Stephen Hadley, Bush and Rumsfeld days into the Iraq war

Rumsfeld (like his boss, President Bush) continues to be unapologetic. Last week, on The Washington Post's op-ed page, he wrote of the "solid progress" being made in Iraq—building a 56,000-man Iraqi defense force, steps toward self-government—and suggested strongly that the critics would be proved wrong. Maybe. But almost six months after their "liberation," the Iraqis are still short of power (both electrical and electoral) and jobs, and the guerrilla war continues to claim an American soldier or two on almost a daily basis. Inside and outside the U.S. government, knowledgeable experts worry that Iraq is nearing a tipping point—that rising terrorism and resentment of America could bring real chaos or civil war.

How did we get in this mess? NEWSWEEK interviews with top government officials involved in the planning and execution of the reconstruction of Iraq point to a "perfect storm" of mistakes and bad luck: wrongheaded assumptions, ideological blinders, weak intelligence and poor coordination by White House national-security adviser Condoleezza Rice. Much of the damage was done at the outset—in the first days after the war, when political infighting and wishful thinking prevented the United States from taking control of a bad situation that was turning worse.

It's not that the Bush administration failed to plan for the reconstruction of Iraq. In August 2002 Bush decided that Saddam had to go, by force if necessary. Soon after Labor Day, the White House set up an elaborate network of

nine teams studying how to cope with potential humanitarian crises during and after the war and how to remake postwar Iraq into a peaceful democracy. There was widespread recognition of the difficulty of the task. By mid-January, President Bush was given a sober, realistic PowerPoint presentation (made available to NEWSWEEK) on postwar reconstruction that included a warning that Iraq's economy could collapse, creating widespread starvation and unrest. Rumsfeld, too, circulated "a parade of horrible" things that could go badly wrong in an invasion and afterward.

Ironically, the swiftness of victory spared Iraq the worst of those disasters. There was no WMD attack (if indeed Saddam had any WMD to attack with, an increasingly dubious proposition), no massive torching of Iraq's oilfields, no refugee crisis—all of which the Pentagon had prepared for. Some administration officials say that the CIA and Defense Intelligence Agency predicted postwar terror and guerrilla attacks, but other officials scoff that the intelligence services gave only pro forma warnings and are only now trying to cover themselves. What all this postwar planning stressed, however, was that swiftly restoring peace and a measure of security to postwar Iraq was crucial. Without that, nothing could be done. And "security," as those White House Viewgraphs show, was the Pentagon's responsibility.

Gen. Tommy Franks, the CENTCOM commander charged with invading Iraq and securing it afterward, did warn of "catastrophic success," of winning so quickly and overwhelmingly that the U.S. military would arrive in Baghdad without the forces needed to control the capital. But Franks was preoccupied with fighting the war, not cleaning up the rubble. Organizing for peace was a low priority at CENTCOM: the undermanned planning cell for "Phase Four" (post-conflict ops) kept losing officers to other, more urgent war-fighting missions. Rumsfeld and his top aides, meanwhile, saw the issue of postwar security essentially as a trade-off. Send in enough troops to control Iraq, and the United States would risk losing the elements of surprise and speed Franks achieved by going in with a bare-bones invasion force. Besides, military and civilians both agreed that peacekeeping and nation-building were no job for the U.S. military. (National-security adviser Rice hoped that other countries would provide an international constabulary force.) Franks passed down the word at a postinvasion briefing for his field commanders. The first slide began: TAKE AS MUCH RISK COMING OUT AS YOU TOOK GOING IN.

THE WHITE HOUSE WANTED TO BELIEVE THAT it could get away with a relatively quick in-and-out operation because American soldiers, Vice President Cheney predicted, "will, in fact, be greeted as liberators." The bad guys—the worst of Saddam's Baathist Party—would flee or surrender, but a large middle-class "Mesopotamian bureaucracy" would remain in place to run the country. This notion was pushed by a band of Iraqi exiles, most notably Ahmad Chalabi, who have close ties to the Pentagon neo-cons—and who stood ready to step in and fill the leadership void. Within a few months, it was hoped, American forces could be drawn down to no more than 50,000 troops.

It was a convenient scenario but, as it turned out, highly unrealistic. The Iraqi Army did not surrender, so it could not be stripped of its officers and reconstituted as "labor battalions" to repair damaged facilities and guard power plants and oilfields. The Army simply vanished. The Iraqi police force turned out to be hapless and corrupt, and it disappeared, too. The Pentagon hadn't counted on criminal gangs' systematically tearing apart Iraq's crumbling infrastructure and smuggling it out to sell abroad. (Saddam had helpfully emptied his jails before the invasion.) U.S. intelligence about Iraq was a little shaky. American officials were even unable to locate some Baghdad ministries. They had the wrong addresses.

There was considerable confusion over who was supposed to be in charge of post-Saddam Iraq. "What do we mean by 'regime change' anyway?" General Franks queried Secretary Rumsfeld in the middle of the war. Many CIA and State Department officials were skeptical about Chalabi and the Iraq exiles, insisting (correctly) that they had no popular base of support. The infighting over Chalabi created paralysis, with the White House unwilling to play referee. At the State Department, Deputy Secretary Richard Armitage, Powell's number two, fought bitterly with the Defense Department neocons, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith, the Pentagon's third-ranking civilian. Armitage was convinced that the Defense neocons had spies at the State Department. "Bats, we call them. Bats," said Armitage, in a colorful private harangue reported to NEWSWEEK. "Because they hang upside down all day, with their wings over their eyes, pretending they don't see anything. But at night they spread their wings and fly off to whisper, whisper, whisper."

The vetting process got so bad that even doctors sent over 'had to be anti-abortion,' said a member of Garner's team

CHANGING GUARD: Garner, above, was too chummy with the Iraqis, some said. Bremer focused on 'de-Baathification.'

The ideological intrigue reached into the upper levels of the Bush administration. Rumsfeld ordered General Garner to drop a State Department official named Thomas Warrick from his reconstruction team. Garner protested, his aides recall; he needed Warrick, who had been the author of a $5 million, yearlong study called "The Future of Iraq." Rumsfeld's reply, as relayed by Garner to his aides, was: "I'm sorry, but I just got off a phone call from a level that is sufficiently high that I can't argue with him." Sources tell NEWSWEEK that Rumsfeld was taking his orders from Vice President Cheney. Administration officials say that Warrick was vetoed because he did not get on with Iraqi exile leaders.

Garner was a relatively small fry caught between clashing giants. The retired general, who had been chosen because he had ably han-

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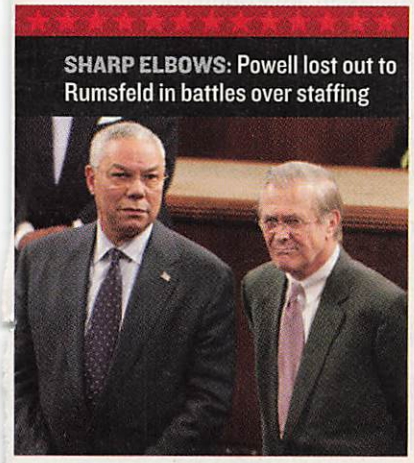
FROM LEFT: HASAN SARBAKHSHIAN—REUTERS-POOL, KEVIN COOMBS—REUTERS

dled a refugee crisis in the Kurdish north of Iraq after the 1991 gulf war, understood the importance of moving fast after Saddam collapsed. But when he queried Franks on a timetable for putting his team in place, he was told 60 to 90 days. Too slow, Garner argued, but as it was, his team did not reach Baghdad until 12 days after Saddam fled. Lacking phones and cars, they were isolated and largely helpless.

In hindsight, General Franks should have immediately declared martial law. But after combat, his men were loath to open fire on civilians running down the street carrying TV sets. And reinforcements of infantry should have been flown in fast. As Franks had foreseen, his troops were largely the wrong kind for occupation duty: armored battalions driving tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles, not light infantry patrolling on foot. But only six companies of military police (less than 2,000 GIs) were provided, and they were slow in arriving. Iraqis were indignant that the Americans could not control what one senior defense official described as "industrial-strength looting."

Back in Washington, administration officials watched the chaotic images on TV and blamed General Garner. White House officials muttered about "Occupation Lite" and decided that Garner, who was seen strolling about in shirt sleeves and genially chatting with the locals, was a little too chummy with the vanquished. A stronger, tougher proconsul was called for, one who could assert control by purging the government of Saddam's henchmen. The administration's man for the job was Paul Bremer, a former aide to Henry Kissinger and a counterterror expert admired by Rumsfeld and other Bushies.



SHARP ELBOWS: Powell lost out to Rumsfeld in battles over staffing

On May 16, five days after he arrived in Baghdad, Bremer assembled the top American officials in Baghdad and announced that all ministries would be "de-Baath-ized" by removing roughly the top six layers of bureaucracy. The CIA's Baghdad station chief demurred. "We'll, that's 30,000 to 50,000 pissed-off Baathists you're driving underground," said the senior spook. Bremer went on: the Army would be formally disbanded and not paid. "That's another 350,000 Iraqis you're pissing off, and they've got guns," said the CIA man. Said Bremer: "Those are my instructions."

In an interview with NEWSWEEK last week, Bremer maintained that "the de-Baathification decree is the single most popular thing I've done since I've been in Iraq." But it was widely recognized, even by Bremer, that not paying the soldiers was a mistake. Bremer quickly changed course and began cash handouts while trying to reconstitute the Iraqi Army and police. But the damage was done. Particularly in old Baathist strongholds around Baghdad and Tikrit, Saddam's hometown, guerrillas have been killing American soldiers in ambushes with rocket-propelled grenades and crude but effective homemade explosives.

In time, the Americans will probably crush or at least contain the last of the Baathist holdouts. Using cash incentives, American Special Forces have located and flushed out many of the Baathist hide-holes and safe houses. Religious terrorists are another matter. Intelligence officials believe that Islamic jihadists are gaining strength in Iraq, operating out of mosques and communicating in ways that cannot be traced by electronic eavesdropping devices.

Bush is justifiably popular for his show of resolve since 9/11. But he could stand to show more steel dealing with his warring subordinates. Too often, State and Defense officials refuse to even talk to each other. Rumsfeld has expressed surprise at the poor condition of the Iraqi power grid. It was hardly news, however, to State Department bureaucrats, who had been listening to their counterparts in the United Nations. For years, U.N. officials have been running the Oil-for-Food Program inside Iraq and knew that Iraq's infrastructure had crumbled badly under Saddam. But because of ideological rivalries between State and Defense and the scorn of the neocons and hard-line conservatives for the United Nations, this information was not shared in the right places. As a result, the Bush administration grossly underestimated the cost of rebuilding Iraq and overestimated the ability of the Iraqis to foot some of the bill through oil revenues.

WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE MISSED signals and too-rosy scenarios? The person charged with coordinating U.S. foreign policy is the president's national-security adviser, Condoleezza Rice. She likes to say that her national-security staff is not "operational," meaning that it advises on policy and leaves the implementation to government agencies. White House staffers are now surprisingly willing to dump on the Defense Department for bungling postwar security in Iraq. But for too long, White House staffers kept any qualms private. It is also true that the White House, including the president, signed off on the basic war plan and reconstruction effort.

On the ground, the Coalition Provisional Authority, charged with actually running Iraq until the Iraqis can take over, is the source of increasing ridicule. "CPA stands for the Condescending and Patronizing Americans," a Baghdad diplomat told a NEWSWEEK reporter. "So there they are, sitting in their palace: 800 people, 17 of whom speak Arabic, one is an expert on Iraq. Living in this cocoon. Writing papers. It's absurd," says one dissident Pentagon official. He exaggerates, but not by much. Most of the senior civilian staff are not technical experts but diplomats, Republican appointees, White House staffers and the like.

Some astute foreign observers think that time is running out. "We are losing the consent of the Iraqi people," warned John Sawers, British Prime Minister Tony Blair's emissary in Baghdad. "We have until Ramadan [Oct. 27-Nov. 25] to turn it around," Sawers told American officials in Washington two weeks ago. "After that it will be too late." At least one old Middle East hand is a pessimist. Former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak recently passed a message to Rumsfeld. It ran roughly: "There's a 5 percent chance you get Saddam tomorrow, the energy goes out of the resistance and things get dramatically better. There's a 5 percent chance a car bomb takes out the entire Governing Council, and things go to hell. In between those, it will get better over time, or worse over time. Right now, I say it's twice as likely that it gets worse." It's not known how Rumsfeld responded.

Armitage warred with the DOD neocons. 'Bats,' he said. 'They hang upside down all day, wings over their eyes.'

With RICHARD WOLFFE and MARK HOSENBALL in Washington and ROD NORDLAND in Iraq

PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERT TRIPPETT—SIPA FOR NEWSWEEK

Fareed Zakaria

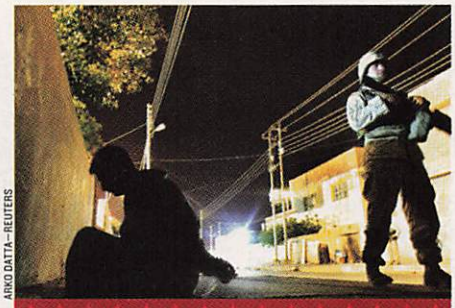
Here's a Bet for Mr. Rumsfeld

WHEN IT COMES TO IRAQ, THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S attitude toward the world seems strangely self-defeating. Even though America's armed forces are strained beyond their limits, the bill for reconstruction is astronomical and a naked occupation is likely to produce anti-American feelings, Washington still is not much interested in genuine internationalization. Now Donald Rumsfeld, with his characteristic frankness, has explained why. In an op-ed published last week in The Washington Post, Rumsfeld vigorously denounces the kind of nation-building that the United Nations has engaged in. Were others involved in the Iraq occupation (the United Nations, the State Department), they would mess things up.

You might expect the secretary of Defense to engage this crucial subject seriously. There have been several careful studies on nation-building efforts, most recently an excellent study by the Rand Corporation. But Rumsfeld refers to none of them, basing his views on a handful of misleading factoids and anecdotes. The heart of the article is a rehash of a speech Rumsfeld gave in February in which he argued that the U.N. has encouraged places like East Timor and Kosovo to become politically and economically dependent on it.

As proof of this, Rumsfeld points out that "four years after the war, the United Nations still runs Kosovo by executive fiat, issues postage stamps, passports and driver's licenses." This is shockingly ill-informed. Rumsfeld must know that the U.N. still issues postage stamps and passports in Kosovo because the United States and Europe have not yet decided whether the place is a province of Yugoslavia or an independent country. If local authorities were to issue passports, that would settle things on the ground. It is not U.N. bureaucracy that has kept Kosovo in limbo, but a political dilemma that *Washington* has not resolved.

Rumsfeld's other criticism is that these international administrations have produced distortions in the economy. In East Timor, he notes, international workers are paid 200 times the average local wage. In Kosovo, a driver to aid officials makes 10 times the salary of a university professor and the U.N. pays its local staff between four and 10 times the salary of doctors and nurses.



ARKO DATTA—REUTERS

STANDING PAT: A U.S. soldier guards an Iraqi detainee on the outskirts of Tikrit

By Rumsfeld's logic, America's light hand and quick exit from Haiti should have created a vibrant democracy. The opposite happened.

Rumsfeld should get out more. Were he to travel most anywhere in Asia or Africa, he would notice that people who work for Western corporations or nonprofits make vastly more money than locals. This is because of the enormous difference in wages between the West and the developing world, and because Western firms pay their employees abroad on a Western scale. Rumsfeld's problem, it would seem, is not with international organizations, but with global capitalism.

One can see this phenomenon vividly in one country these days—Iraq. A senior international administrator—that is, a high-ranking civilian in the Coalition Provisional Authority or a one-star American general—makes around $10,000 a month, including housing allowances. The Pentagon estimates that doctors in Iraq made $20 a month last year. To be fair, local wages have risen now, but a university professor in Baghdad today makes at most $200 to $300 a month. In other words, a Coalition official is probably earning *50 times* the salary of a local professor. Iraq makes Kosovo and East Timor look like Swedish-style egalitarian societies.

Rumsfeld is right to warn of the danger of a heavy hand creating dependency. But there is actually much greater danger of a light hand. Turning weak institutions over too quickly to locals would return the country to traditional structures of authority that are often feudal and corrupt. In Afghanistan, for example, Rumsfeld's light touch has resulted in the return of warlord rule, a dangerously weak central government and the resurgence of the Taliban. By Rumsfeld's logic, America's light rule and quick exit from Haiti in the 1990s should have created a vibrant democracy, while its almost decadelong, heavy-handed occupations of Germany and Japan should have produced deformed societies. In fact, the opposite happened.

The United States might well succeed in Iraq but only because it is *not* following Rumsfeld's rhetoric. If it were worried about creating a dependent society, it would not be pouring $20 billion into the country in one year—which equals half of the Iraqi GDP. This is almost twice the total spending on Kosovo over four years. Nor is Paul Bremer giving Iraqis the authority to spend that money without tight supervision. Were the United States to empower local Iraqis in the next few months, the result will be a sham democracy and a petro-state.

If the Coalition can stay the course and lay the ground for a slow and orderly transition, Iraq will be a better place for it. But I will make a bet with Mr. Rumsfeld. When America does leave Iraq, and the administration proclaims it a case study in effective nation-building, American officials posted there will still be earning much more than local professors.

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TODAY TOMORROW

TOYOTA

Cut! No Sequels, Please.

The crazy recall campaign rolls into its final frame

BY KAREN BRESLAU

THE BIG-BUDGET THRILLER that began with Arnold Schwarzenegger's dropping a bomb on "The Tonight Show" ends with next Tuesday's recall vote—but not before a climactic chase scene that's one part "Terminator 3" and one part "Meet the Press." The last days of the bizarre contest to recall California Gov. Gray Davis will literally find Schwarzenegger barreling down the state's highways in a monster bus called "Running Man," with GOP support troops, including Rudy Giuliani, following close behind aboard "Total Recall." Bringing up the rear will be several hundred reporters (from at least five countries) riding in buses labeled—what else?—"Predator One," "Predator Two" and so on. All that's missing from the stunt, it seems, is Gray Davis, à la "T3," dangling from a crane.

Only a week ago, it looked as though this cliffhanger might have a long intermission. A panel of federal judges ruled to postpone the election until March, by which time California would have eliminated its outdated punch-card-ballot system, along with the dreaded hanging chads. But the decision was quickly overturned by a federal appeals court, and by Wednesday the leading candidates were duking it out in an internationally televised debate, which the uninvited Davis accurately likened to "a food fight." (By the end of the night, columnist Bill Whalen was calling the feisty Arianna Huffington "my big fat Greek headache.") Although the polls remain excruciatingly tight—with the recall passing by a slim margin—Schwarzenegger now stands ahead of the remaining 132 replacement candidates, setting the stage this week for a slugfest with Davis.

And what a slugfest it will be. Casting himself as the victim of GOP electoral trickery, Davis will barnstorm the state with a cast of Democratic costars (including return appearances by Bill Clinton and Al Gore) as he urges voters, "Don't let them steal California the way they stole Florida." He's challenged the actor to meet him *mano a mano* on "Larry King Live." Meanwhile, he plans to flood the airwaves with ads slamming Schwarzenegger for his spotty voting record and for making "flat-out errors" about California's economy. "We want voters to imagine waking up on Oct. 8 and having Gov. Schwarzenegger," says Davis strategist Garry South. "Is this man really up to the job?"

LEFT JAB: Arianna huffed

Davis's plan: remind voters of Florida 2000, and go negative on Schwarzenegger

Schwarzenegger will also have to fend off attacks from the casino-owning Indian tribes. Flush with gambling profits, and angered by Schwarzenegger's portrayal of them as "special interests" and his demand that they pay taxes (as sovereign entities they are largely exempt), they have donated millions to his rivals, Democratic Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante and Republican state Sen. Tom McClintock. This week a group calling itself First Americans for a Better California plans to spend $2 million on commercials, some targeting Schwarzenegger. One, NEWSWEEK has learned, will feature a photo of the actor accepting $62,000 from San Diego area tribes last year for his ballot initiative supporting after-school programs.

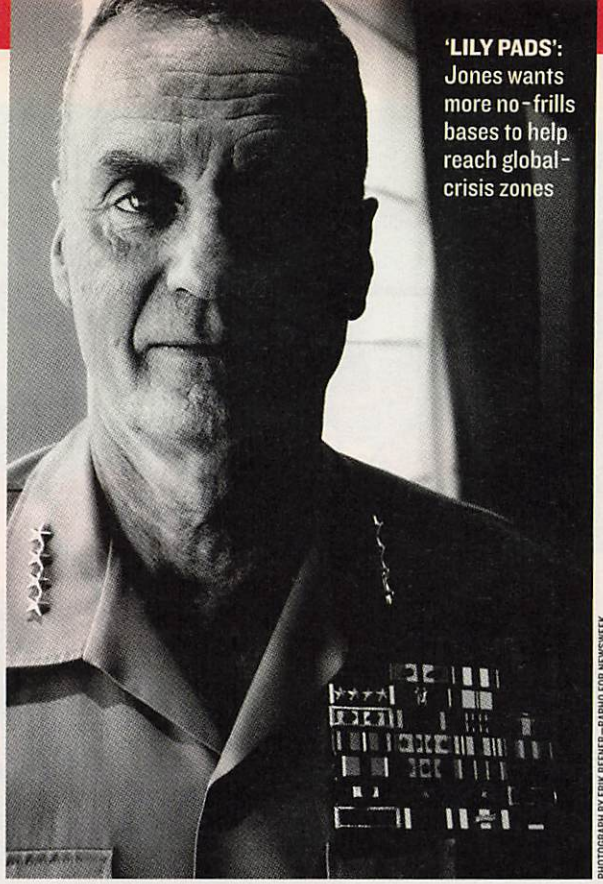
Schwarzenegger's strategy for battling Davis will be simply "to remind voters why they hate him," says an adviser—and working to close the ranks in his own party, where McClintock maintains a stubborn challenge on the right. "Maybe it's old-fashioned," McClintock said after last week's debate, "but I promised to stay in this race until the end—and that's what I intend to do." That undercuts a main storyline of Schwarzenegger's "California Comeback Express," on which there are choice bus seats reserved for Republicans who cleared the field for Schwarzenegger in the name of party unity—including Bill Simon and Darrell Issa. Next week we will all find out whether this latest Schwarzenegger drama is a hit—or a bomb. No matter the ending, it's hard to imagine a sequel better than the original show. ■

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER

TOP TO BOTTOM: JOHN DECKER—GETTY IMAGES-POOL, KEVORK DJANSEZIAN—REUTERS-POOL

Surrender Monkeys—Not

The NATO supreme commander speaks out



'LILY PADS': Jones wants more no-frills bases to help reach global-crisis zones

PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIK REFNER—RAPHO FOR NEWSWEEK

GEN. JAMES L. JONES IS THE first U.S. Marine to serve as NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. Having grown up in France, where his father worked for an American company after WWII, he has a keen sense of Continental sensitivities, especially as NATO tries to address the demands of new regional and global threats. Jones sat down last week with NEWSWEEK's Christopher Dickey for an exclusive interview. Excerpts:

DICKEY: What do you make of the rift between the United States and France?

JONES: It saddens me, to be honest with you. I grew up in both cultures. I identify with what France went through in the difficult times of Algeria, of Indochina, the postwar reconstruction, which I lived through starting in 1947. I remember the big green buses with the white stars driving all over Paris—only Americans could get on those buses. It was possible for American families to come and be stationed in France and never speak French, or never even have contact with French culture. I think that created perceptions and divisions that perhaps contributed to the state of affairs—I don't know what it is. But I regret it, and I can tell you that at the military level it does not exist.

Some Americans call the French "surrender monkeys."

France has probably the most expeditionary army [i.e., ready to deploy to distant battlefields] in Europe. And writ large. They have impressive military capabilities across the whole spectrum of operations. They're good at peacekeeping; their Air Force is modern, state of the art; their Navy is modern; their land Army I know about because I served with them in northern Iraq 11 years ago, and I know their generals—this is a very, very fine army.

How is NATO evolving to meet new threats?

The center of gravity for the last 50 years in the alliance has been in Western Europe, but the center of activity is, in my perspective, moving east, and I think it's not an understatement to say that the geo-strategic center of interest for the foreseeable future has to be the greater Middle East. And therefore the U.S. footprint [deployment] legitimately has to adjust to be as supportive as possible. There's also an emerging concern, not only for the alliance but for the United States, to our south. Africa is replete with ungoverned spaces for attracting the merchants of terrorism, radical fundamentalism, weapons of mass destruction and all kinds of criminality, and I think we're going to see more of that.

You've talked about something called "forward operating locations."

Bare-bones footprints with dirt strips and very low-level maintenance, but strategically in place. As you might imagine, a lot of those would be perhaps somewhere in Africa and the like. They have been called "lily pads." That's not a bad visual term to explain the concept, as opposed to the massive, fixed base of the 20th century.

You won a Silver Star in Vietnam. Are you concerned Iraq might go in that direction?

Not yet. *[Shakes his head no.]* ■

Beijing: Bringing Down the House

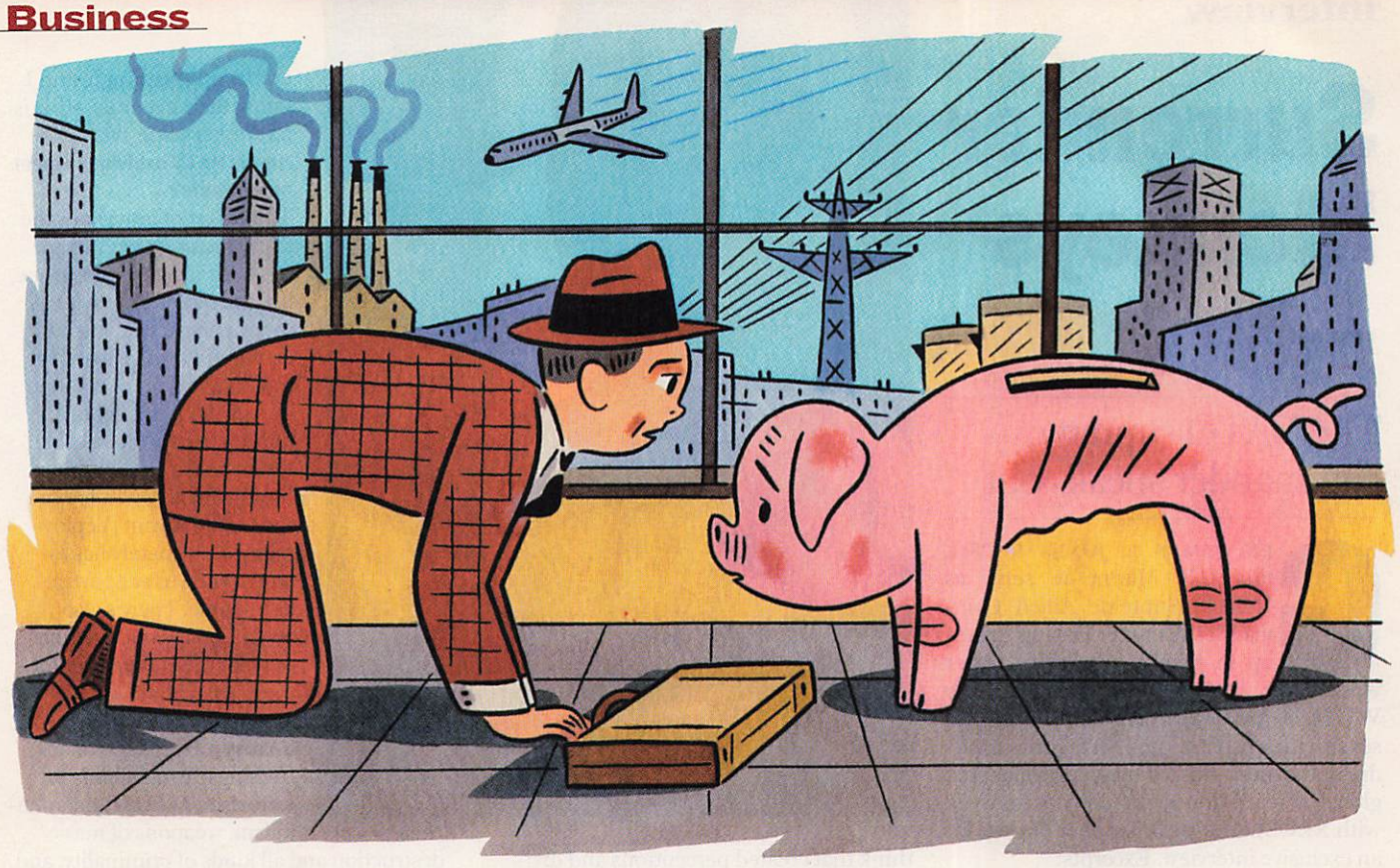
Chinese officials are trying to head off a Tiananmen-style confrontation. A major party meeting is scheduled for mid-October in Beijing, and the fear is that the plenum will spark public protests against a whole range of government abuses—especially the high-rise construction projects that have destroyed thousands of homes with little notice or compensation. Last week a Beijing resident named Wang Baoguang set himself on fire as a demolition crew began wrecking his home. He was hospitalized with burns on more than 50 percent of his body. As many as 2,000 of his neighbors spent the next few hours in a furious standoff with district police. Since late August, four people have attempted suicide in Beijing, Nanjing and Shanghai trying to save their homes.

Last week the party's powerful Propaganda Department warned local journalists to quit reporting on antidemolition protests. Still, as many as 1,000 demonstrators and grass-roots organizers from across China have already converged on the capital. One Beijing activist, Liu Anjun, says they hope thousands will deliver a joint petition against "official corruption and illegal demolitions" during the plenum. It's a tough spot for President Hu Jintao, who has cultivated an image as a populist since taking office in March. He needs to stop the unrest peacefully—and soon. He won't survive if the party's hard liners think he's weak. But a crackdown would undoubtedly provoke even bigger public protests. The question is whether the lessons of Tiananmen can prevent another one.

—MELINDA LIU in Beijing

FIERY RAGE: The protests gained a reprieve for the home of Wang's next-door neighbors

PHOTOGRAPH BY KATHARINA HESSE FOR NEWSWEEK



Business's Killer I.O.U.

New factories? More workers? They'll have to wait. Pension shortfalls are costing corporations billions.

BY KEITH NAUGHTON

With car sales surprisingly strong, J. T. Battenberg III, CEO of auto-parts maker Delphi Automotive, would like to expand his factories and hire some workers. But he can't. And it's not because his products aren't in demand—Delphi makes the DVD players and satellite radios that are becoming the next big things in cars. He first has to deal with an ugly blemish on his balance sheet—a $4.1 billion shortfall in Delphi's pension fund. Three years ago the pension plan was fully funded, but it cratered along with the stock market. To fill that hole, Battenberg is shoveling some $600 million a year—about half of Delphi's available cash—into the fund. "It's a huge millstone," he grumbles. "We are delaying our expansion plans because our board suddenly has half the amount of cash you would normally have."

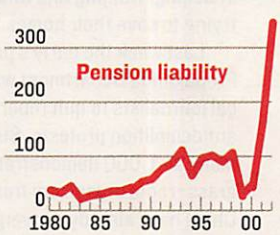
Delphi is not alone. Huge pension liabilities are strangling corporate America, and execs say this new debt is choking off an economic recovery. Companies that offer workers traditional pensions are suddenly facing a yawning $350 billion deficit in those plans. To make up that shortfall, big business is expected to pour a record $83 billion into pension funds this year—nearly double last year's contribution and six times what companies paid in 2001. Back then, the bull market transformed dreary pension funds into new profit centers, contributing millions to the bottom line. But a combination of collapsing stocks and record-low interest rates—something CFOs call the "perfect pension storm"—drove funds deep into the red. That's the same double whammy that swung the federal budget from surplus to a $401 billion deficit in the most recent fiscal year. Now CFOs view pensions as a drain that seems bottomless. "A lot of economists wonder why corporate America is so cautious," says Battenberg. "We're cautious because of the uncertainties surrounding this pension obligation."

Adding to the uncertainty is a year-end deadline facing Congress to devise a new formula for pension contributions. Changes to the formula could drastically alter how much companies must plow into their funds. In a rare dust-up, business and the Bush administration are at odds over the arcane accounting issue. Companies want a formula that could cut their contributions by nearly 75 percent. But the White House is pushing a more expensive alternative, fearing that chronic pension underfunding could bankrupt the government agency that bails out failed pension funds. Already, the federal Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC) is $5.7 billion in the hole, thanks to a string of costly pension failures in steel and airlines. And its administrator is warning Congress that the PBGC could be headed for a taxpayer bailout akin to the $150 billion S&L debacle. Corporate lobbyists, however, warn that an economic recovery

Deep in Debt

The market drop in recent years has turned pension plans into a huge liability. They used to earn profits.

The pension-funding gap
$400 billion



SOURCE: PENSION BENEFIT GUARANTY CORP.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MICHAEL KLEIN

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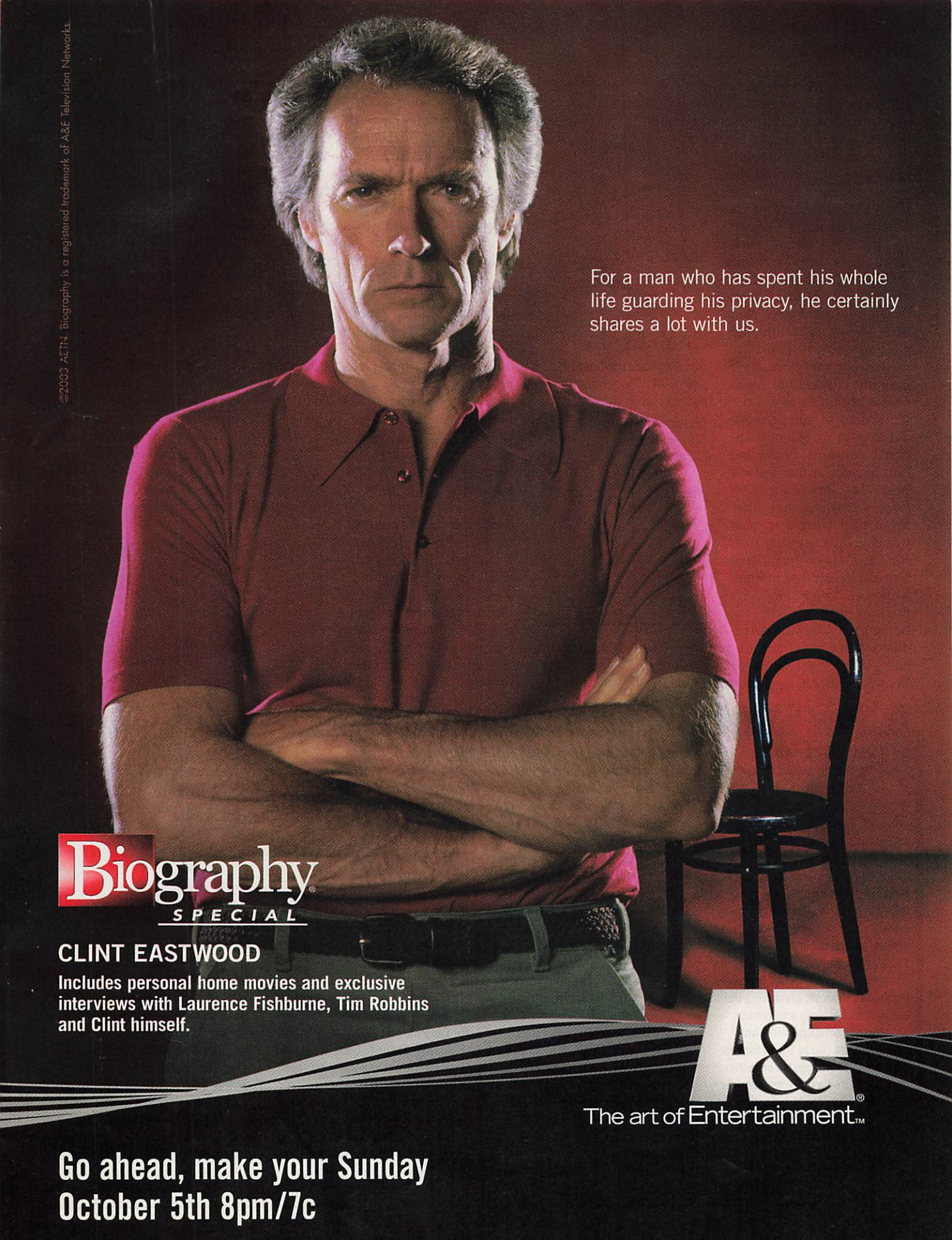

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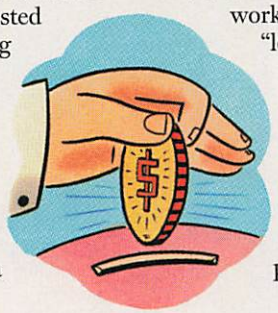
will remain MIA as long as pensions siphon off money that could be used for new business investment. "Why is this administration, which is clearly interested in economic recovery, proposing something that would have such a negative effect?" says Jim Klein, president of the American Benefits Council, an industry group. Now accountants are proposing changes that will force companies to pour more cash into a new type of retirement plan that blends a traditional pension with a 401(k).

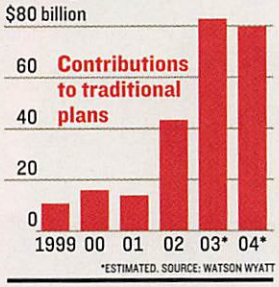
Retirees may love their monthly checks, but business is beginning to wonder if it's time to put pensions out to pasture. When traditional pensions first came into fashion in the postwar '50s, the American work force was young and offering a paid retirement plan was a good recruiting tool. But a half century later, retirees nearly outnumber workers, and pensions have become a costly burden borne mostly by old-line industries, like autos, airlines and steel. General Motors, for example, has piled more than $50 billion into its retirement fund over the past decade, and it still has the nation's largest unfunded pension liability of $19.3 billion. With 2.5 retirees for every worker, analysts say that GM's "legacy costs" add $1,700 to each car it builds. No wonder younger companies want nothing to do with traditional pensions and instead ask employees to share the retirement risk in 401(k) plans (which have their own problems, as Enron proved).



Cash Drain

Companies are expected to pour $83 billion into their pension funds this year.

Fortune 1,000 pension-funding levels



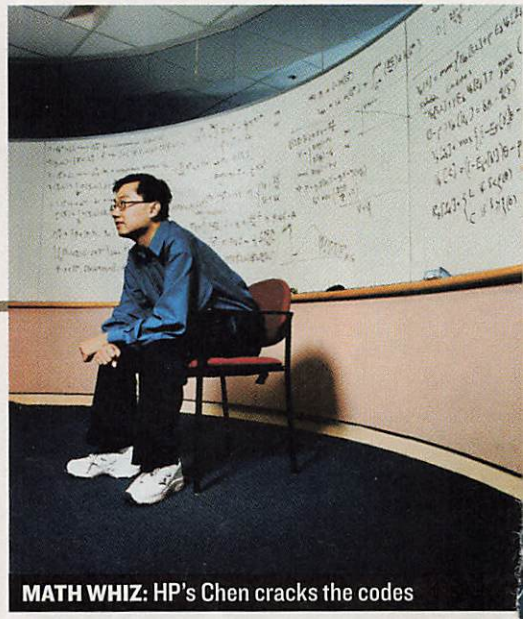
*ESTIMATED. SOURCE: WATSON WYATT

Today 44 million Americans are covered by 32,000 traditional pension plans, down from 114,000 plans in 1985. And they don't always get what was promised. Retired US Airways pilot Michael Fairley just went to work selling lighting because his pension was cut 67 percent to $23,000 a year after the airline went bankrupt. "At 60," says Fairley, "who thought I'd be living paycheck to paycheck again?"

Given hard-luck stories like that, it's hard for some to feel sympathetic for the corporate brass's poor-mouthing. After all, say critics, those execs are complicit in their own pension woes because they developed a bad case of irrational exuberance, investing an average of nearly two thirds of their plans in stocks. "A company that puts its pension assets in equities is basically playing roulette," says Boston University finance professor Zvi Bodie, who urges pensions be funded with long-term bonds.

Bethlehem Steel's pension plan landed on double-zero this year. When Bethlehem first began offering pensions just after World War II, more than 300,000 workers filled its teeming Pennsylvania steel mills. By the time the company liquidated this spring, there were just 12,000 workers supporting 100,000 retirees and its pension debt topped $7 billion. "The retiree liabilities were crushing the business," says CEO Steve Miller, who sold off the mills for $1.5 billion and terminated the retirees' health and pension plans. Shortly after, an e-mail showed up in Miller's IN box that read: "May you motherf---ers rot in hell." His response: "What part of broke don't you understand?" There's no polite way to say it: in this fragile economy, pensions are a drag.

With BARNEY GIMBEL



MATH WHIZ: HP's Chen cracks the codes

A New 'Wind Tunnel' for Companies

BY RANA FOROOHAR

Companies are always trying to predict the future. These days, the field of experimental economics—which replicates market and business scenarios in the lab—is giving the crystal ball an upgrade. Hewlett-Packard scientists, for example, have created mini-markets that allow its executives to bet on, among other things, future sales and revenue. The internal futures markets do a better job of predicting than simply polling the executives because anonymous bids bypass office politics, and cash rewards (up to $250 for the best bets) provide extra incentive. Another of its fortune-telling exercises uses Stanford students acting as HP execs, retailers and suppliers in a kind of Simbusiness test of new strategies.

Remember the Defense Department's ill-fated proposal to create a terror futures market this year? The tone-deaf idea was quickly shot down, but the underlying science is being explored by a handful of large companies like IBM, Microsoft and Ford. Experimental economics is "a wind tunnel for business," says HP senior scientist Kay-Yut Chen.

Testing economic theories through experiments sounds like a no-brainer, but it wasn't always so. Vernon Smith, a professor at George Mason University, began doing it in 1956. Over the years, he and others like Caltech professor Charles Plott crafted experiments that proved markets' predictive power. Their work has influenced policy decisions on issues like airport-landing rights. Last year Smith was awarded the Nobel Prize.

Now big business wants to know more about the research that the Swedes say "changed the direction of economic science." Earlier this month Microsoft invited Net Exchange, the company that developed terror futures, to brief researchers on predictive markets. Despite the Pentagon fiasco, terror futures may be reborn in the private sector: Net Exchange is fielding offers from investors who want to sell results from a geopolitical risk market to insurance and financial-service firms. Net Exchange and others are also looking to build predictive markets for Big Pharma. Incentive Markets in Boston claims to have set up an internal futures market for a top-10 drug company that allows employees to bet on the success of products in the pipeline.

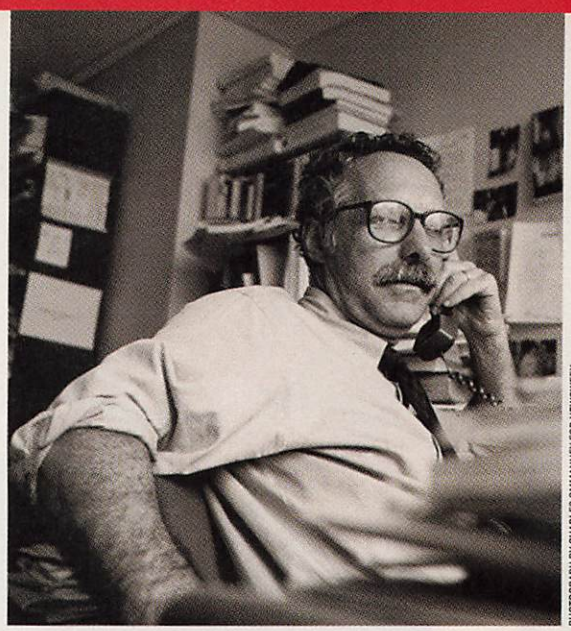
Plott, the Caltech professor, recently created a new bidding system for auto auctioneer Manheim. Trial results showed a 9 percent increase in the price of each car. Kay-Yut Chen of HP runs tests that have resulted in new incentives for retailers and more effective penalties for price cutters (HP now trims retailers' marketing funds). HP recently showed Ford that even in tough times, customers are more willing than the automaker thought to buy cars they had leased (buyers want to stick with a known quantity). Ford has signed up for an even bigger project. The crystal ball suggests HP may be on to something.

With MICHAEL HASTINGS

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY BRAVERMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

Robert J. Samuelson

The Limits of Media Power



PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES DMMANNEY FOR NEWSWEEK

IN MY BUSINESS, YOU RECEIVE A LOT OF UNSOLICITED advice and abuse. Some years ago a reader proposed that I "drop dead." Another well-wisher later suggested that "the best thing you could say is nothing at all." One of these tirades arrived last week. Sandwiched between incoherent political musings and stories about the family cat were some wickedly funny insults ("You act like you're selling stock shares in Idiots-R-Us!") and, surprisingly, some important questions. Why are the media so negative? Or, in my case, why am I talking down the economy? This general complaint is, I suspect, fairly widespread among the public and deserves a serious answer.

The indictment is straightforward. If the mass media dwell on the worst, it's said, we will make the worst come true. We will poison public opinion and create a self-fulfilling pessimism. If people are constantly told the economy is going to the dogs, it will go to the dogs. The merchandising of anxiety and fear will spread anxiety and fear. Commentators like me (said the reader) "run around telling everyone, 'Woe is us, the sky is falling'." I plead not guilty.

What prompted this outburst was a recent column ("The Creaky Job Machine," Sept. 22) pointing out—I am hardly alone—that the economic "recovery" has yet to reach the labor market. By one government survey, jobs are still dropping; by another, the unemployment rate has barely receded. I could take refuge in the facts. The White House Council of Economic Advisers (which can't be accused of bad-mouthing the economy) has compared the present recovery with all those since 1960. At a similar stage in earlier recoveries, nonfarm jobs were up about 1 percent; this time, they've declined almost 2 percent.

But the facts represent an expedient—and partly dishonest—defense. They may be true, but they skirt the harder question of why I emphasized poor job performance when I could have been more optimistic or chosen a more heartening subject altogether. For example: although the present unemployment rate (6.1 percent) has risen sharply since late 2000 (3.9 percent), it's still much lower than the peak rates of the recessions of 1990-91 (7.8 percent) or 1981-82 (10.8 percent). Why not make that point? Or why not examine recent economic improvements: stocks, exports and corporate computer spending are all up.

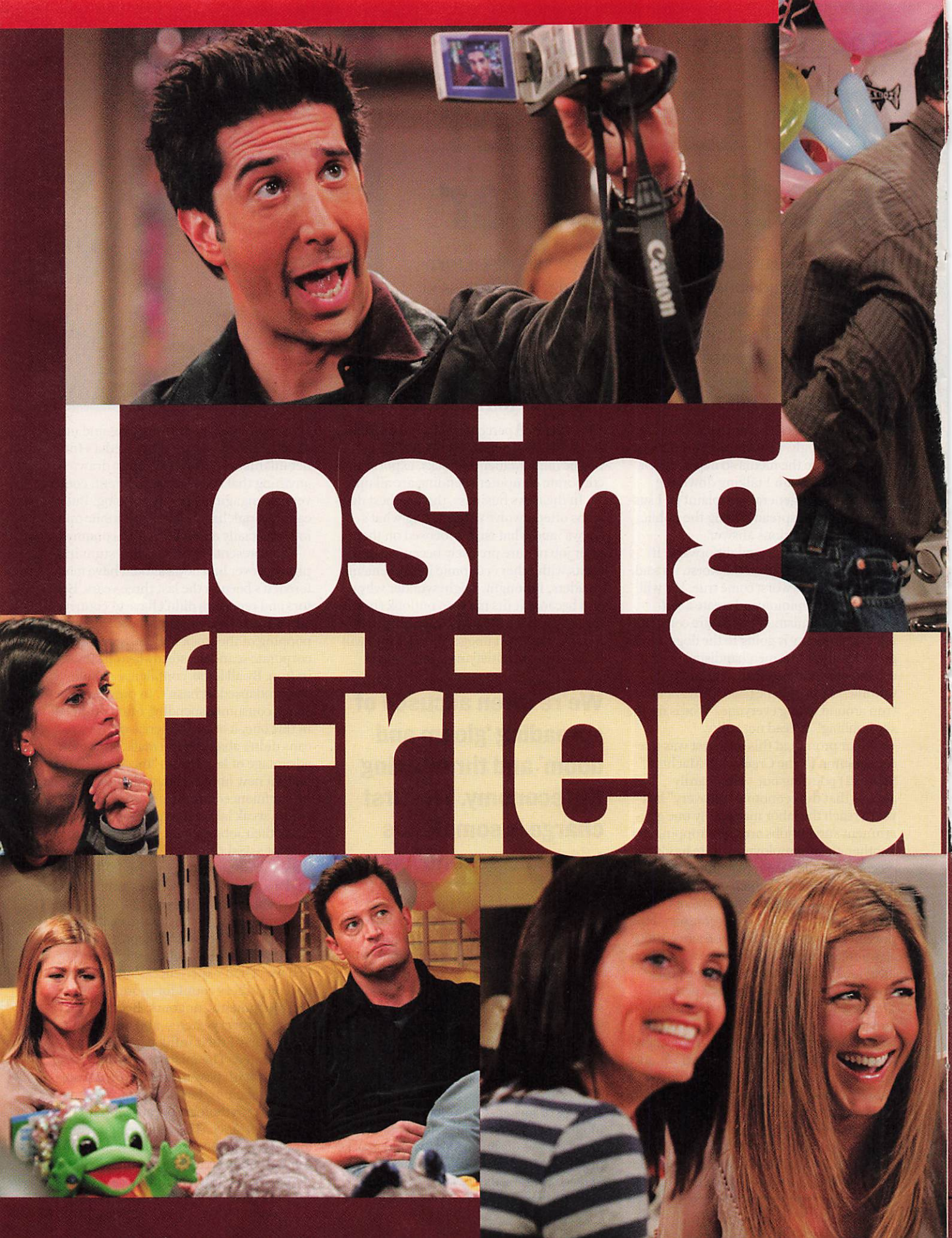
In the news business, the toughest decisions often involve determining what's "news" and what isn't. I focused on the poor job picture precisely because it contrasts with other economic improvements (readers, I thought, might wonder why) and because it fits my own outlook (to wit: the 1990s' boom and stock "bubble" left much collateral damage; the recovery will be slow and unsatisfying). But readers don't know my thought processes and could legitimately suspect other motives: sensationalism—highlighting the grimmest news I could find; or politics—trying to make George W. Bush look bad. Whatever the motive, stories like this can seem hellbent on sowing gloom and doom, which might kill the recovery.

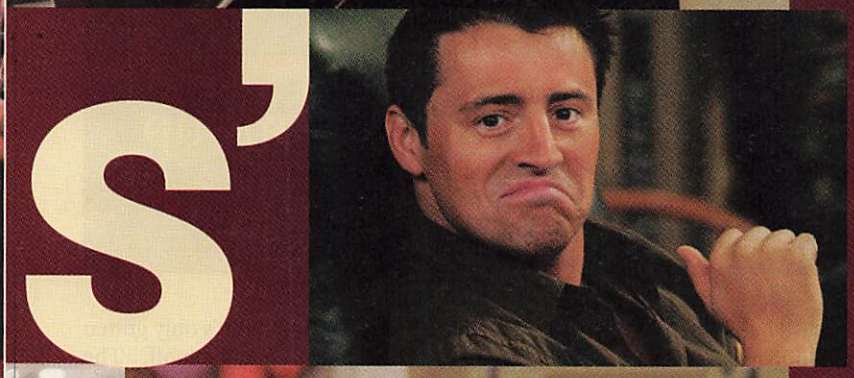
We're often accused of spreading 'gloom and doom' and threatening the economy. The first charge is sometimes true. The second isn't.

The real defense is that we're not powerful enough to do that. Of course, we're not innocent of all the charges leveled against us; on some, we're repeat offenders. We're suckers for the latest political, intellectual or cultural fads, though these aren't always of the negative variety (social problems, health hazards, political feuds and economic setbacks). We can also be boosters for unrealistic crusades and utopian fantasies. Remember the media's Internet infatuation! We're regularly drawn to anything that seems new, different, controversial, engaging and entertaining. But we cannot singlehandedly shape public opinion, especially as it affects the economy.

The present situation offers stunning proof. If ever bad news should have mattered, it's been in the last three years. Editors and reporters didn't have to contrive adversity. It arrived spontaneously: the popping of the stock bubble, September 11, corporate scandals, steady layoffs, the war in Iraq. By all logic, confidence should have collapsed. It hasn't. In previous recessions, consumer spending often dropped; in this one, it actually increased. Americans didn't abandon the mall. They took advantage of lavish auto "incentives." They bought new homes and, with interest rates low, refinanced mortgages on old ones. Despite a weak labor market, most Americans think their jobs are safe. (A Gallup poll in August asked respondents whether they were worried about being fired; 81 percent said no, 19 percent yes. The results in 1997 were almost identical—80, 20.)

People just don't heed the media that much. What they absorb represents one factor in what they believe and how they behave. Their experiences, habits, views and prejudices count for more. They trust their judgments, not ours. Because the media are everywhere—and inspire much resentment—their influence is routinely exaggerated. The mistake is in confusing visibility with power, and the media are often complicit in the confusion. We embrace the mythology, because it flatters our self-importance. The truth is that we echo, amplify, influence and refine public opinion but rarely create or manipulate it. In a democracy, that's just fine.


Losing
Friend



GETTY IMAGES

S'

They won't be there for you—not much longer, anyway. Behind the scenes as 'Friends' begins its final season, and great sitcoms become an endangered species.

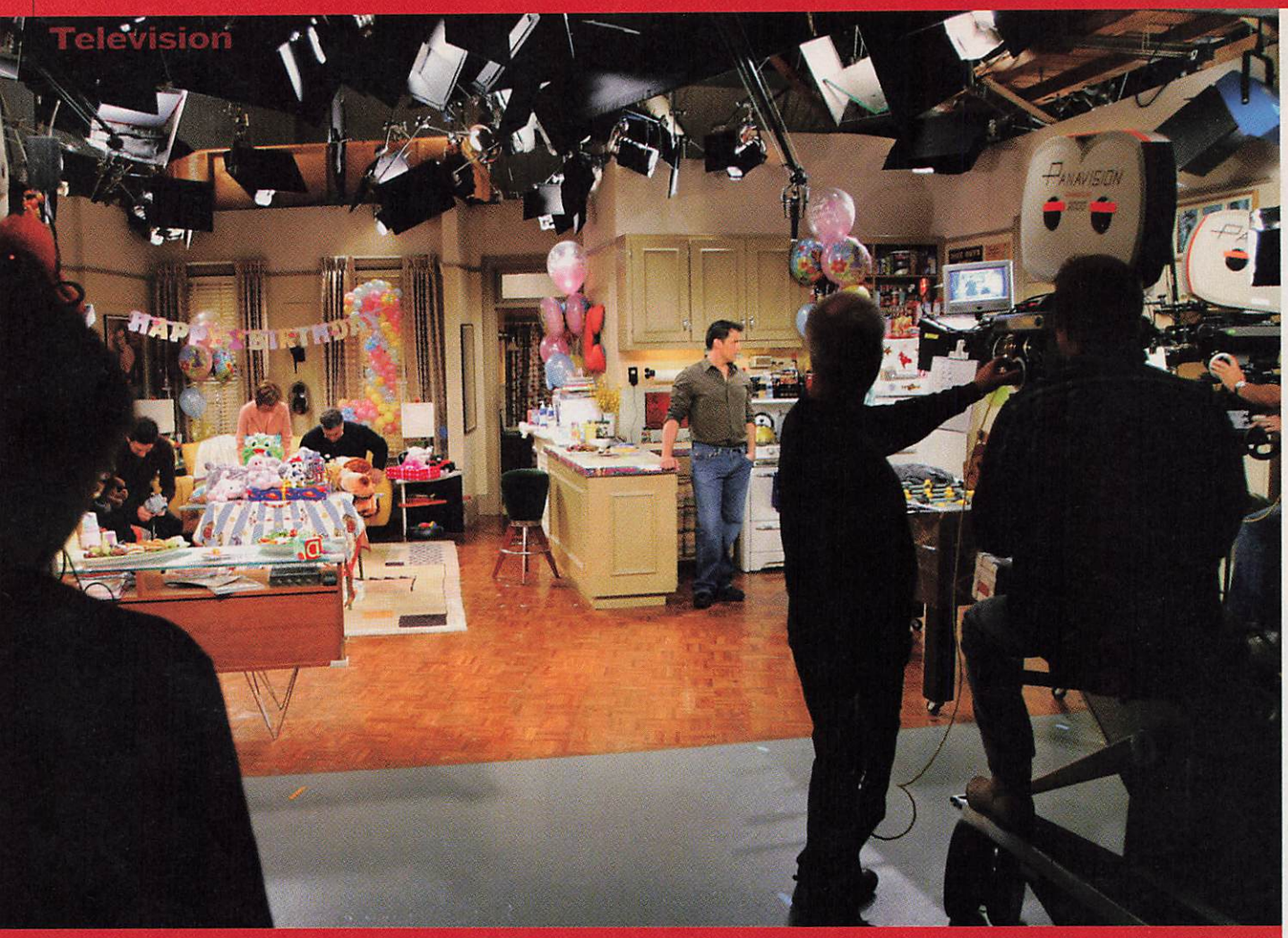
BY MARC PEYSER

YOU'D THINK IT WAS A SIMPLE enough scene. Chandler, Joey and Rachel are in their apartment—that is, the apartment Joey and Chandler shared before Chandler moved in with Monica and Rachel had the baby and moved in with Joey—and the guys are fighting. Joey wants Chandler to help him get a part in a commercial that Chandler's advertising firm is shooting. Only Chandler doesn't think that Joey is right for the role, so he lies about recommending Joey to his bosses. When Joey finds out, he runs to his bedroom, returns with a tape of his last commercial and insists that Chandler and Rachel watch, even though: (a) it was for "male lipstick" that happened to be blue and (b) it was shot in Japanese. And—action!

Except no one gets through much of the action. Matt LeBlanc, a.k.a. Joey, for those of you who've missed the first 223 episodes of "Friends," can't get the tape to stay in the VCR. "Piece of s--t," LeBlanc yells. The audience giggles. Take two. LeBlanc comes out of his room, approaches the VCR—and the tape spits

LAUGH IN The set is typically closed to outside photographers, but two weeks ago David Hume Kennerly was allowed in to capture the gang in some of the last of the 'must-see TV' moments

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID HUME KENNERLY FOR NEWSWEEK



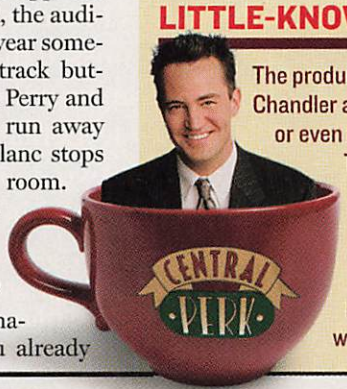
People won't come up to Brad as easily as they'll come up to me. I'm in their living room every week. —JENNIFER ANISTON

back at him again. Bigger giggles. Bigger expletives. "Nice language," Matthew Perry (Chandler) yells back, making the audience, and LeBlanc, howl. The next time, LeBlanc aces the VCR and his line, but by now Perry can't resist the four-letter fun. "You f---ing ass," he ad-libs, and LeBlanc loses it again. Take four. LeBlanc appears, but before he can touch the VCR, the audience is roaring so loudly, you'd swear someone accidentally hit the laugh-track button. To screw up LeBlanc again, Perry and Jennifer Aniston (Rachel) have run away and hidden in the kitchen. LeBlanc stops and looks around the empty room. "Good," he says, trying to stifle a smile. "They're f---ing gone."

They're not, but they will be all too soon. When "Friends" goes off the air next spring, the mania will be—oh, God, can't you already hear that "I'll Be There for You" theme played about a billion times? Not many TV characters have entered our living rooms and our hearts like "Friends." Ross and Rachel. Chandler and Monica. Phoebe and "Smelly Cat." The sitcom was a hit the minute it debuted nine years ago—it's never been out of the top 10—and it's only gotten bigger. The Emmy. The spinoff. The movies (OK, maybe not the movies). No wonder NBC is charging Super Bowl-size ad rates, about $2 million per 30-second spot, for the May finale. Hard to believe that, a decade after Rachel stumbled into the Central Perk coffeehouse after running away from her own wedding, we're still dying to know who she ends up with—Ross or Joey? Will Chandler and Monica have a baby? Read on and we'll spill some secrets, though you already know the essence: breaking up will be hard to do. "I can't even think about it. I get anxiety," says Aniston. "It's like a divorce nobody wants."

As Chandler might say, could this *be* any sadder? Well, yes. The folks at NBC are more than a little queasy about losing their No. 1 show and the linchpin of their Thursday lineup. If CBS, home of "Survivor" and

LITTLE-KNOWN FACT No. 1



The producers hadn't planned on Chandler and Monica's marrying or even having a relationship. They were only going to have a one-night stand. **"But people rooted for them,"** says exec producer Kauffman. "They worked together."

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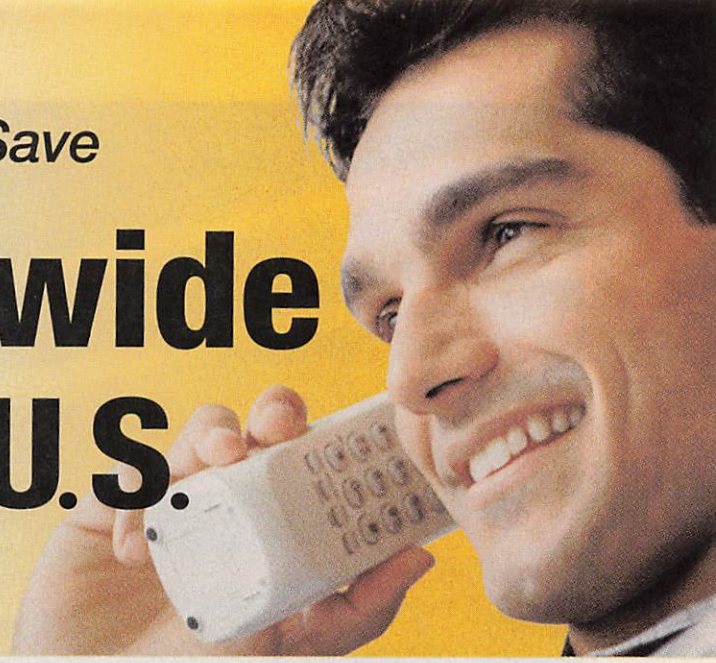

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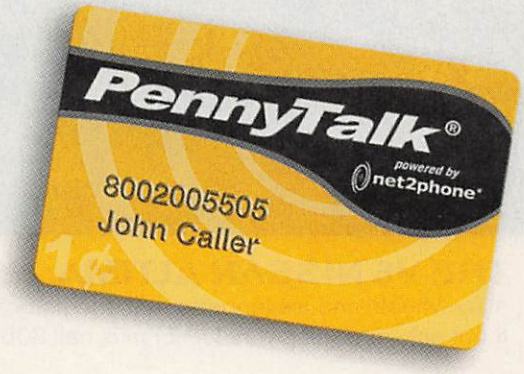

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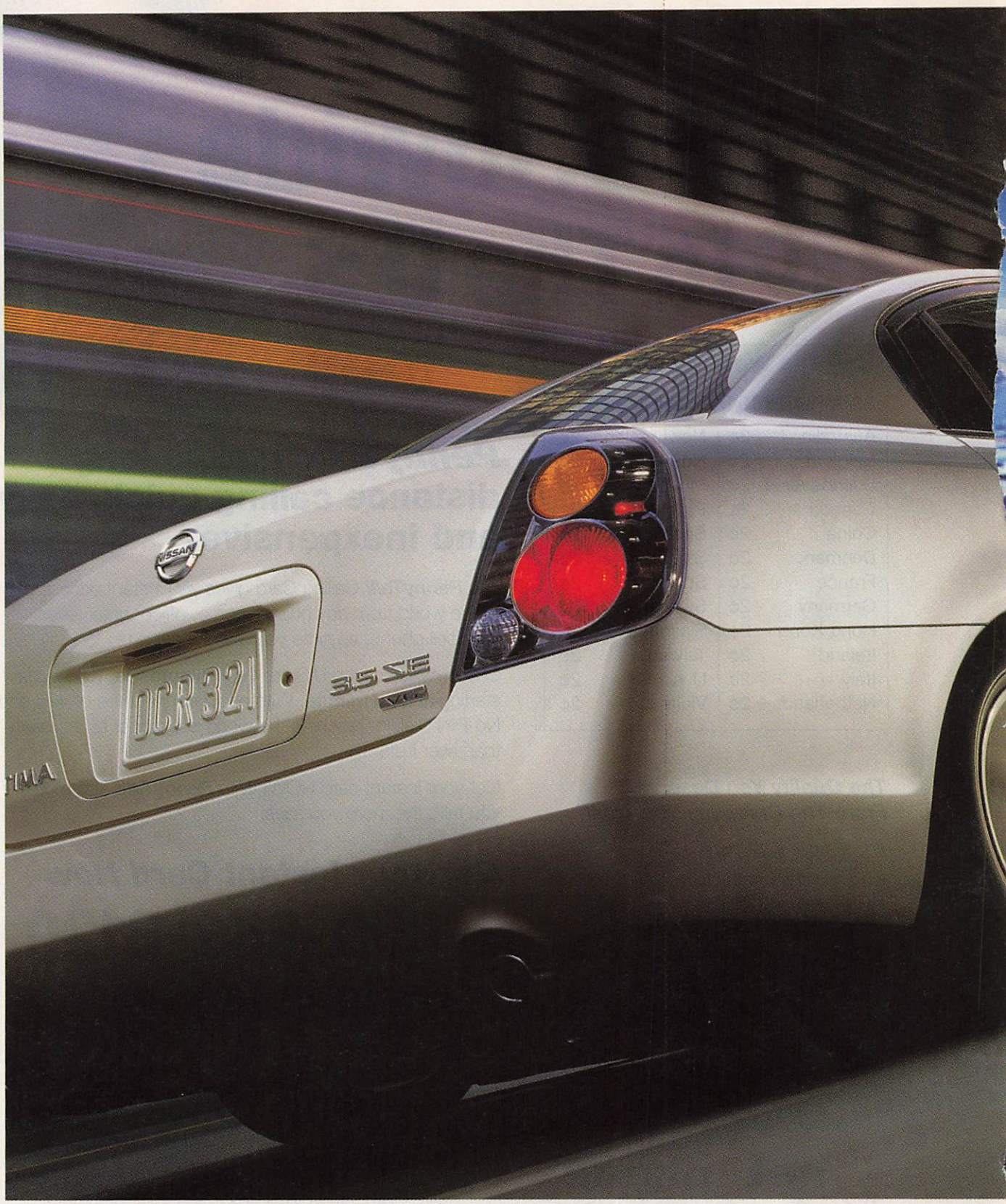

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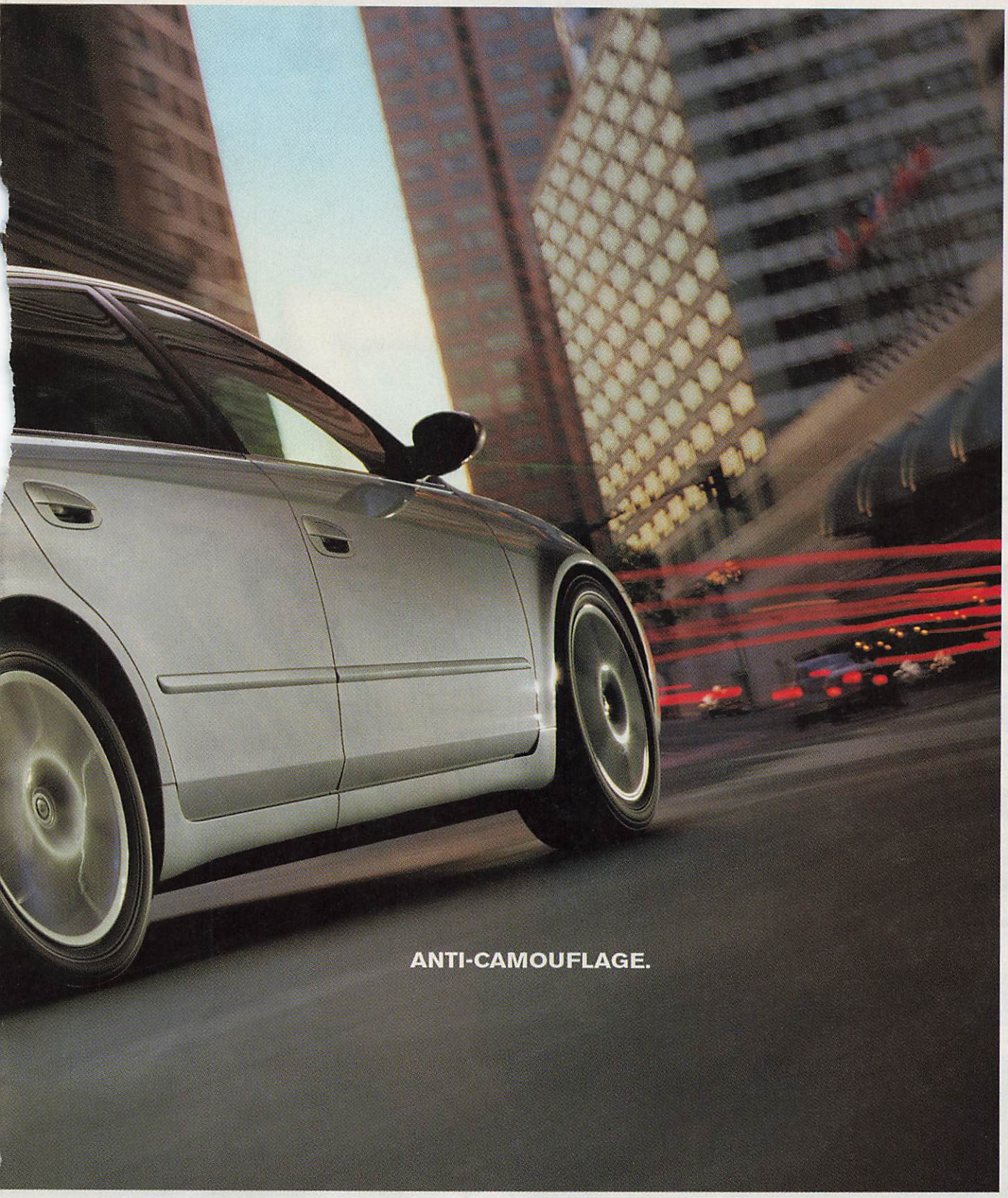

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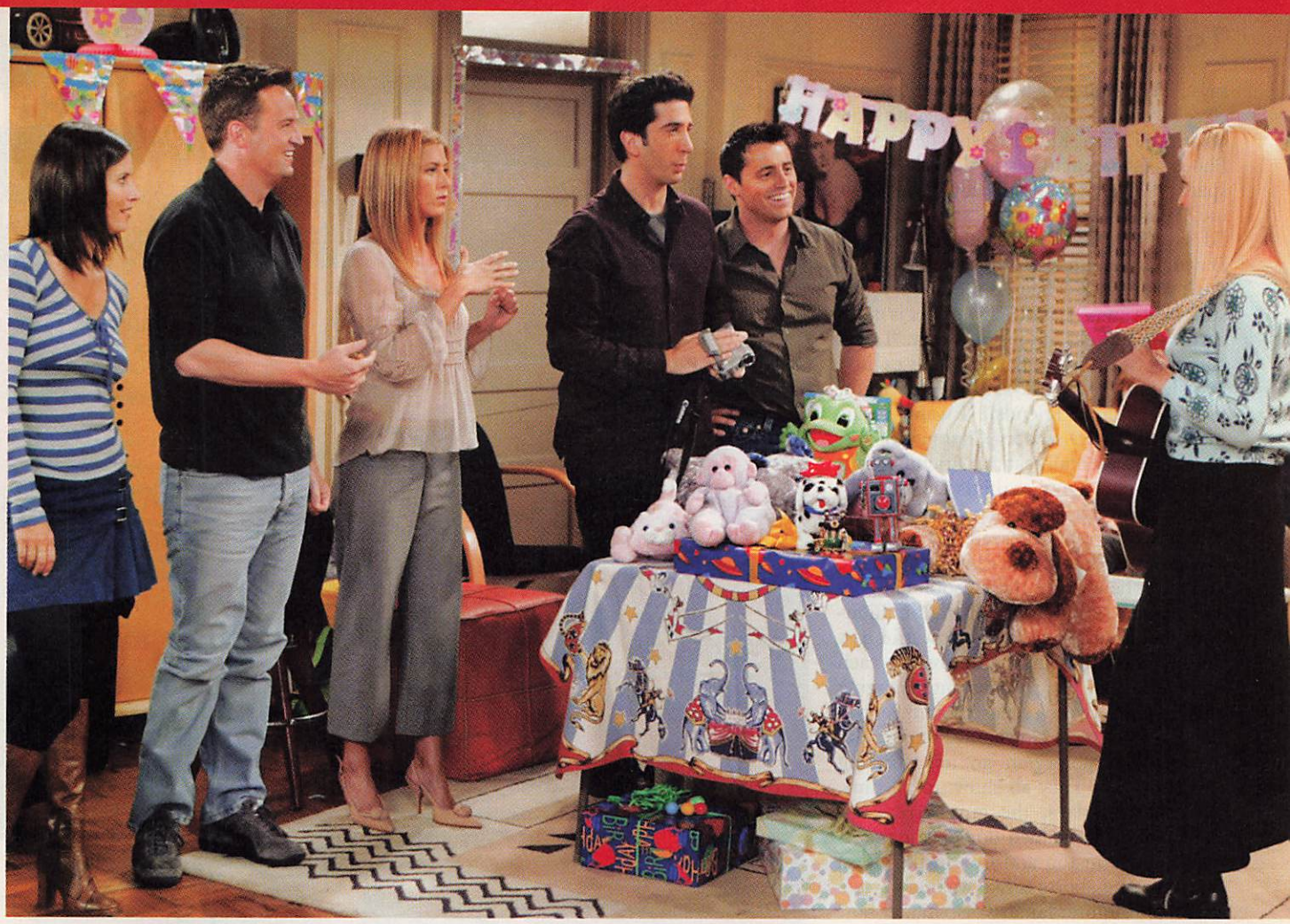


"CSI," takes the night after "Friends" retires, the whole must-see-TV idea sounds pretty silly. But the future doesn't look great for the sitcom anywhere. This is also the last year of HBO's "Sex and the City." "Everybody Loves Raymond" and "Frasier" might call it quits next spring, too. Unless something hilarious hits the air soon—and given the new crop of shows, what's the chance of that?—think about where that could leave us. *The Emmy nominees for best comedy are "Will & Grace," "Curb Your Enthusiasm" and—"Yes, Dear."*

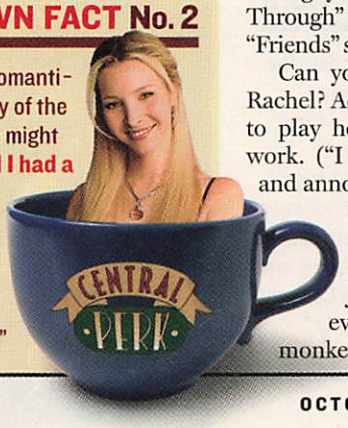
At least we've still got another season of "Friends" to help us forget our troubles. The sitcom probably won't go down as one of the greatest of all time—it's not in quite the same league as "All in the Family," "The Mary Tyler Moore Show" or "I Love Lucy"—but it's one of the most consistently funny shows ever. "Even while we were shooting the pilot, I was like, 'This is really good. I think I'll buy myself a present,' and I bought a Porsche," says Courteney Cox. "Friends" certainly deserves more credit than it gets from the wags who dismiss it as "Seinfeld" lite. Unlike with "Seinfeld" and most other comedies, we grew to care about the "Friends" characters beyond their ability to make us laugh. The relationships, the parents, the weddings, the baby—we've followed their lives as if the gang really did hang out at the corner coffee shop. "They were brilliant at crafting stories that had you absolutely clutching your heart and going, 'Oh, my God, that's the most vulnerable moment I've ever seen,' and then you were falling on the floor laughing," says Warren Littlefield, who ran NBC's entertainment division when "Friends" debuted. "It's a soap opera that's also funny."

This being Hollywood, there were plenty of geniuses who didn't get it. "You have to remember, there was no show at this point that focused on 20-year-olds living single in Manhattan," says executive producer Kevin Bright. "The network would say, 'Can't you create an older character—a cop on the beat or the guy who owns the coffee shop—who gives the friends advice?' That's not what this show was about." Other people just missed out. Craig Bierko ("Sex and the City") was originally cast as Chandler, but he turned it down—talk about an expensive career choice. Aniston almost didn't get to do the show at all. The producers wanted to hire her, but she was committed to another sitcom called "Muddling Through." "I even went to the producer and said, 'Please let me out of this. Let me do "Friends",' " Aniston says. "The guy looked at me and said, '"Muddling Through" is going to make you a star. That "Friends" show, I saw it. It's not very good'."

Can you imagine anyone else playing Rachel? Actually, Cox originally auditioned to play her, but she knew that wouldn't work. ("I would have made her neurotic and annoying," she says.) When you meet the actors, you can't help but see their characters peeking out from behind them. LeBlanc, like Joey, is so sweet and earnest, he even liked working with Marcel the monkey. "The monkey was killer!" he

LITTLE-KNOWN FACT No. 2

Phoebe hasn't been romantically involved with any of the other friends, but she might have been. "Lisa and I had a pitch that Joey and Phoebe have been having casual sex all along," says LeBlanc. "Nobody wanted to go for that."



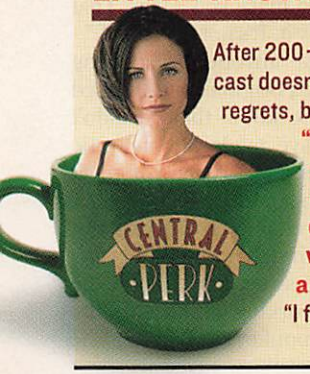
KUDROW BY WARNER BROS., CUP BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK

says. "Have you ever been around one, up close? They are so much like people, it's kind of trippy." Lisa Kudrow isn't dense like Phoebe—she went to Vassar—but she can be spacey. "When we started, people would ask me, 'Who's in your show?' " she says. "And I'd say, 'There's a couple of guys named David. Or a couple of guys named Matt. I don't remember.' Then I'd see them, and I still wasn't sure." David Schwimmer is more earnest than Ross but just as nerdy. "I read National Geographic. I'm genuinely excited by paleontology," he says. And he does not, as a rule, watch "Friends." "I watch documentaries, the Discovery Channel. Sometimes I'll accidentally catch a 'Friends' rerun and I'll be like, 'Wow, so this is the show?' "

You know what's even crazier than that? The "Friends" really do seem to be friends. We know, we know. You've heard it before and never believed it. It does sound impossible, given how they're all multimillionaires and arguably the most powerful cast on television. But their affection for each other feels real. They're constantly hugging and kissing between scenes, though Perry—the "Friends" class clown—also enjoys delivering a raspberry in an unsuspecting castmate's ear. They all show up on time. On rehearsal days, the guys arrive unshaved and the women don't wear makeup—seeing Aniston and Cox in flip-flops, ponytails and shorts is like waking up in a National Enquirer fantasy. "No matter how big people's careers have gotten, or how we've taken hits in movies or something, it's all really a question of the six of us trying to make the best show we can," says Perry. "There's never once in 10 years been a raised voice here." That's not entirely true. "Sure, we have little tiffs over the years, like you do with siblings," says LeBlanc. About what? "I'm not going to tell you," he says.

They've had plenty to bum them out. During season two, there was a huge "Friends" backlash—remember the I Hate Friends Web site?—touched off by the stars' endless magazine covers and a splashy $10 million Diet Coke campaign. They got

LITTLE-KNOWN FACT No. 3



After 200-plus episodes, the cast doesn't have many regrets, but there are a few. **"I wasn't nuts about working at some coffeehouse on roller skates with big boobs and a wig,"** says Cox. "I felt pretty silly."

COX BY JON RAGEL—NBC, CUP BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK

At the Center of the Sitcom

'Friends' was cloned but never dethroned. Now, with a tele generic comedies, the networks will try once again to strike

THE COPYCATS

'Friends' launched a fleet of shows about twentysomethings, all of which died.

Two Guys, a Girl ...

ABC
Two Guys, a Girl and a Pizza Place
FOX
Ned and Stacey
Partners
NBC
Boston Common
Caroline in the City
Men Behaving Badly
The Single Guy
Union Square

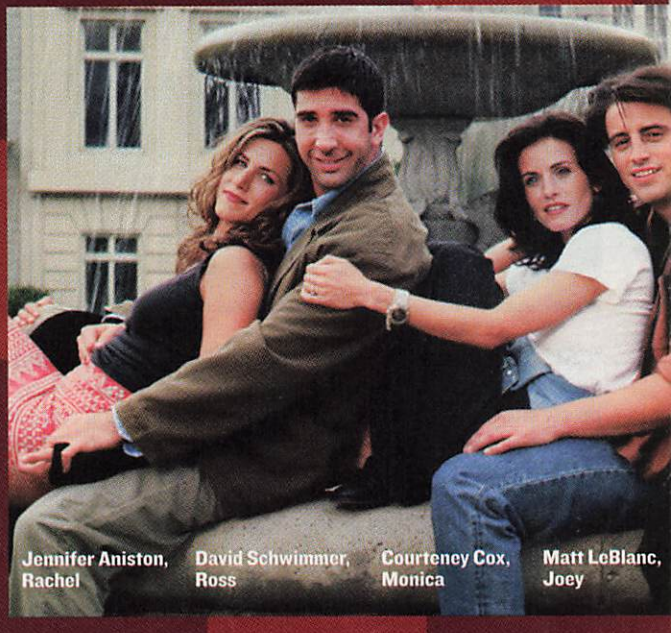
The King of Queens

Diagnosis Murder

THE COMPETITORS

Over the years, going up against 'Friends' on Thursday night at 8 began to seem positively suicidal.

ABC
Charlie Grace
Monk
My So-Called Life
Whose Line Is It Anyway?
CBS
Diagnosis Murder
Due South
Promised Land
FOX
Living Single
World's Wildest Police Videos


Jennifer Aniston, Rachel
David Schwimmer, Ross
Courteney Cox, Monica
Matt LeBlanc, Joey

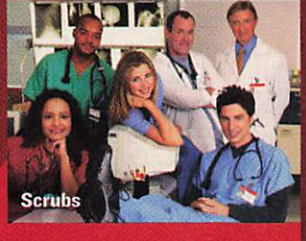
THE OLD FAITHFULS

There are a handful of hit shows that could get even hotter once 'Friends' pulls the plug.

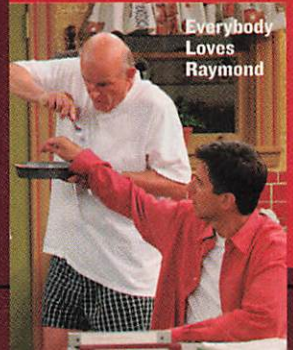
Everybody Loves Raymond (CBS)
PRO: Enormously popular; just won Emmy for best comedy series.
CON: Ray Romano is threatening to call it quits, but chances are CBS will bribe him into staying another year.

The King of Queens (CBS)
PRO: It's a hot show, and it has been holding steady for years.
CON: It stinks. But seriously, it's just a very generic 'Raymond' copycat.

Scrubs (NBC)
PRO: It's a wonderfully written show with a genuinely unique voice and a great cast. If you ask us, anyway.
CON: The show didn't take off last year when it got the big call-up to Thursday night, so why should it now?


Scrubs

Will & Grace (NBC)
PRO: A popular, edgy, hilarious show. It's got an unforgettable cast, and already owns a big chunk of Thursday night.
CON: It's entering its sixth season, so it's no spring chicken either.

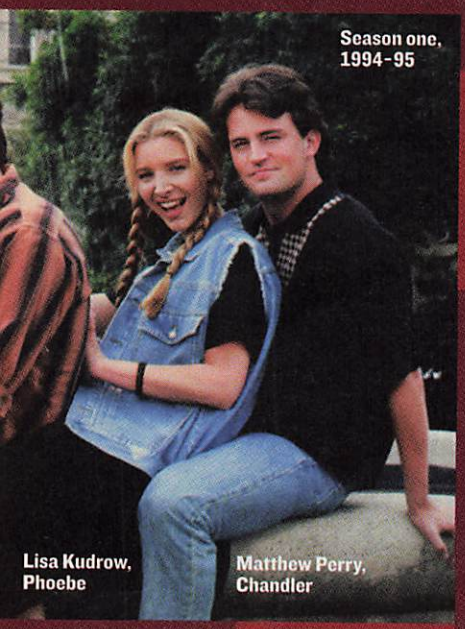

Everybody Loves Raymond

TOP TO BOTTOM: VIACOM—EVERETT COLLECTION, © FX NETWORKS—EVERETT COLLECTION, WARNER BROS., CLIFF LIPSON—CBS, PAUL DRINKWATER—NBC, ROBERT VOETS—CBS

Universe

vision audience bored by
gold. Cue laugh track.

Living Single


Season one, 1994-95

Lisa Kudrow, Phoebe

Matthew Perry, Chandler

Malcolm in the Middle

THE FEW, THE PROUD

Just enough truly inventive comedies are now on the air to make audiences resent lame, derivative sitcoms.

BBC AMERICA
The Office
COMEDY CENTRAL
The Daily Show
South Park
Trigger Happy TV
FOX
The Bernie Mac Show
Malcolm in the Middle
The Simpsons
HBO
Curb Your Enthusiasm
Sex and the City

Bernie Mac

I'm With Her

THE FUTURE?

The networks have plans, of course. Judging from their record in the past, not many of them will work.

Coupling (NBC)
PRO: Three attractive men, three attractive women, wacky banter, sex talk. It looks like 'Friends,' it sounds like 'Friends'...
CON: ... but actually it's absolute garbage.

8 Simple Rules for Dating My Teenage Daughter (ABC)
PRO: Genial old-style family sitcom that got off to a hot start last year.
CON: Its star, John Ritter, just died. Can a comedy survive such a tragic turn?

I'm With Her (ABC)
PRO: Cute concept about an ordinary schoolteacher dating a gorgeous movie star.
CON: It's tailor-made to be a quiet success, not a huge phenomenon.

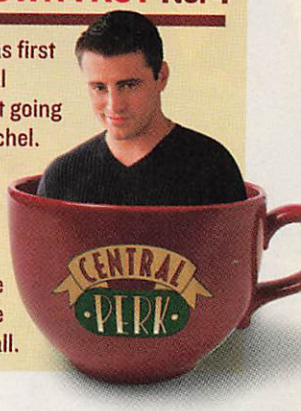
Joey (NBC)
PRO: The only 'Friends' wanna-be with an actual Friend in the cast. Come on. Who doesn't love Joey?
CON: Spinoffs, the great 'Frasier' notwithstanding, are usually dead ends. Ask the 'Seinfeld' cast. If you can find them.

8 Simple Rules

TOP TO BOTTOM: FOX, WARNER BROS.—COURTESY OF EVERETT COLLECTION, FOX, BOB D'AMICO—ABC (2)

LITTLE-KNOWN FACT No. 4

When the show was first written, the central relationship wasn't going to be Ross and Rachel. **It was Joey and Monica.** She was supposed to be something of a den mother, and he was going to be the hunk across the hall.

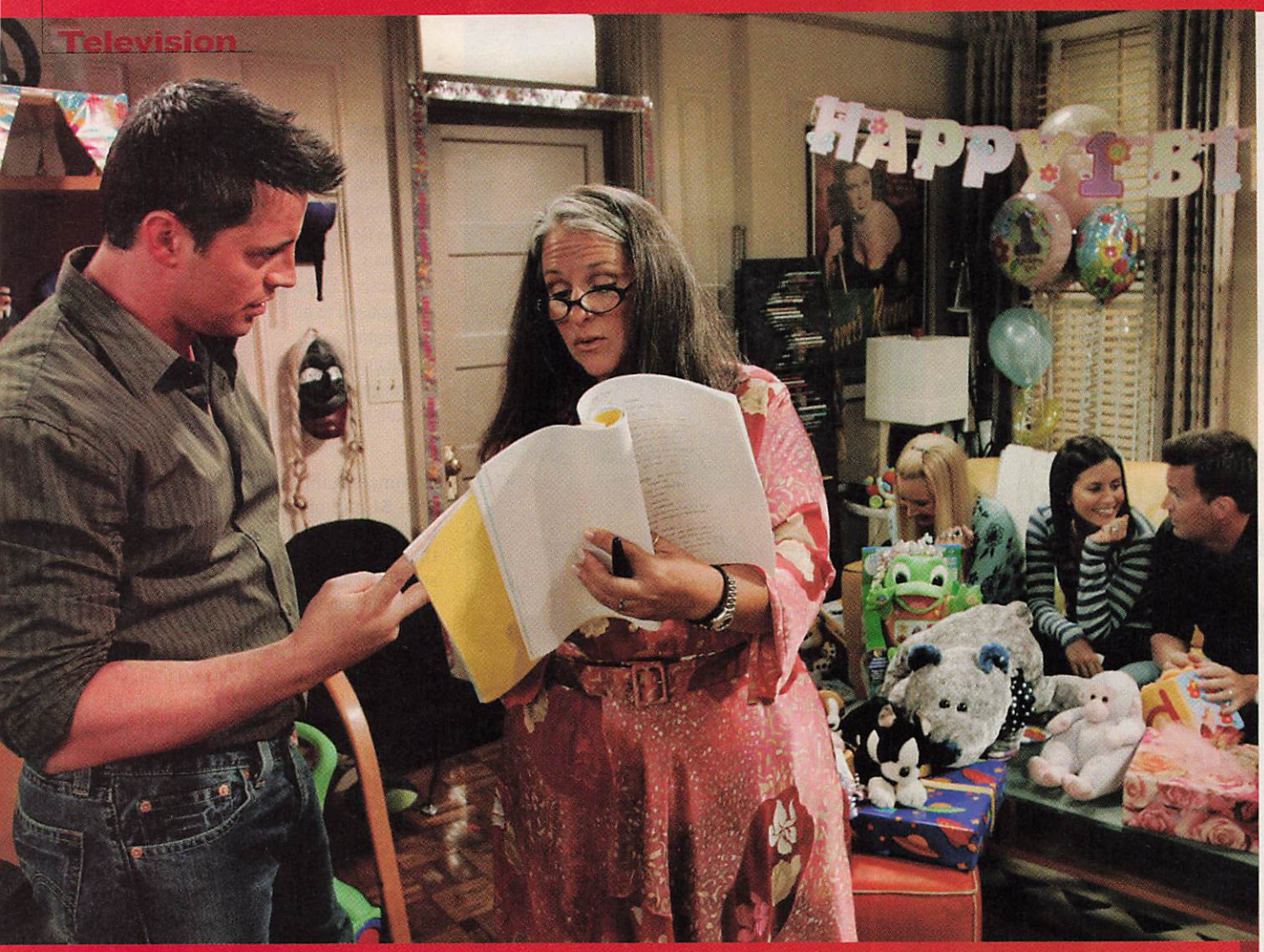


slammed again two years ago when the cast won $1 million each per episode to stay on the show. The fame wasn't always fun, either. "There were many times in the first several years I would have quit," says Schwimmer. "I remember feeling this is not what I became an actor for, to suddenly have people grabbing you in an airport, or writing lies about you, or people staked outside your house." Aniston, arguably the biggest celebrity of the group in part because of her marriage to Brad Pitt, says it took her a while to get used to being everyone's Friend. "People won't come up to Brad as easily as they'll come up to me. I think 'cause something about movie stars is untouchable. In TV, we're in their living room every week," she says. "Some days you're not in the mood. I'm premenstrual and cranky and you just want to tell everyone to f--- off, but you can't. The people are so warm. They come right up and practically hug you."

So we're losing these friends. Are we going to make any new ones? It's no secret that the sitcom is dying. This fall, the four major networks broadcast 24 comedies, compared with 46 in the fall of 1993. It's become fashionable to blame the rise of reality TV for the sitcom's demise—heck, it's fashionable to blame reality TV for *society's* demise. But the fact is, what gets on the air is pretty depressing. The latest crop—"It's All Relative," "Two and a Half Men," "Hope and Faith," "The Mullets," etc.—are almost all "Everybody Loves Raymond" with an "Odd Couple" twist. "The executives think, 'Well, "Raymond" is a family show, just do a family show'," says "Raymond" creator Philip Rosenthal. "They don't get the other part of it, which is you have to *create* a family, with deep-seated relationships and characters that are not stereotypes. They think if you're not laughing every three seconds, people are going to change the channel."

Newsweek MSNBC Join Marc Peyser for a Live Talk on "Friends," Oct. 1 at noon, ET, on Newsweek.MSNBC.com

LEBLANC BY JON RAGEL—NBC, CUP BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK



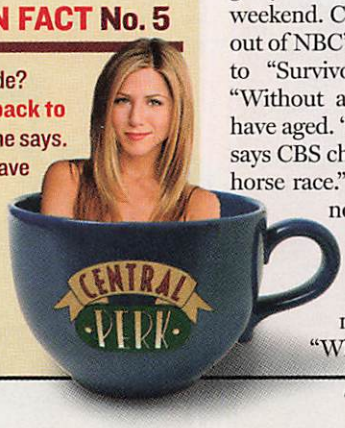
I can think of worse fates than being Joey forever. Will 'Joey' work as good as 'Friends'? Probably not. —MATT LEBLANC

Why is this happening? A major reason is corporate. Over the last few years, the networks have gobbled up almost all the independent TV producers, which means ABC buys most of its shows from Disney, and NBC creates most of its own. There's no competition, and as that great TV producer Adam Smith would tell you, lack of competition is bad for business. "The truly great comedies were risky, whether it was 'All in the Family' or 'M*A*S*H' or 'Seinfeld'," says Michael Saltzman, executive producer of "Murphy Brown." "If the network is both producing and buying the show, you can't afford to piss them off, even if it's for the creative good of the show." With the bean counters running the studios, television has become much more product than art. If a show doesn't perform within a few weeks, it's gone. "People need to be invested before they embrace a sitcom," says Susan Lyne, ABC's president of entertainment. " 'Cheers,' 'Raymond,' 'Seinfeld'—it's two or three years before they find their audience."

No one needs to find an audience faster than NBC. With "Friends" about to leave, the network is in danger of losing Thursday night for the first time in 20 years. That's not just a blow to NBC's "Must-See" ad campaign. Thursday is the most profitable night on television, largely because the major movie studios drop serious cash trying to get you to see their blockbusters over the weekend. CBS has already taken a huge bite out of NBC's pie in the last few years, thanks to "Survivor," "CSI" and the fast-rising "Without a Trace." "Some of their shows have aged. 'ER' is not at its height anymore," says CBS chairman Les Moonves. "It's a real horse race." The folks at NBC insist they're not worried. "Every time one of the Thursday-night staples has gone away, another one has come in," says NBC entertainment president Jeff Zucker. "When 'Cosby' went away, along

LITTLE-KNOWN FACT No. 5

Aniston's favorite episode? **"Whenever we flash back to Fat Monica, I love,"** she says. Schwimmer and Perry have the same favorite: the blackout episode. "That was the first time I realized we were doing something great," Perry says.



ANISTON BY WARNER BROS., CUP BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK

came 'Cheers.' When 'Cheers' went, along came 'Seinfeld.' When 'Seinfeld' went away, along came 'Friends.' It's just always worked out that way." So who's going to win? "NBC has had years to develop something to plug in once they lost 'Friends,' and they've never been able to do it," says Stacey Lynn Koerner, director of global research at Initiative Media. "I'd rather be CBS than NBC a year from now."

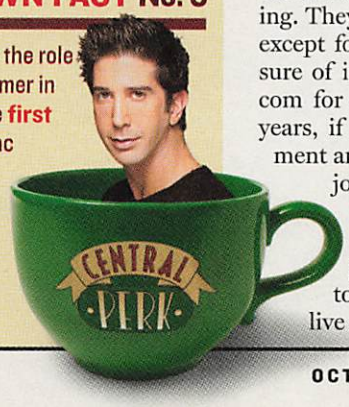
And now for the part of the story you may want to skip—the part where we tell you about the finale. OK, the truth is, we don't know exactly, because the writers haven't written it. "It's really sad to think about," says executive producer Marta Kauffman. "It's something we're holding off on because it's very difficult to come to terms with. It's hard to say, 'This is the end'." They do know some things (skip ahead, "Friends" fanatics). The Rachel-Joey romance will end fairly soon, much to the relief of the cast. "I hated it," says Aniston. "Joey's like my brother. I thought it was dangerous territory." Chandler and Monica will shop for a house, which probably means there's a good shot they'll become parents. And Ross and Rachel? "We've got to wrap it up. They've gone off and on and off and on. I would probably want them to get back together," says Cox. Needless to say, the creators are keeping mum about this one, though draw your conclusions from Kauffman's only concern: "We know we want all of them to be happy and OK."

Which is more than you can say for the cast these days. People aren't weeping in their lattes yet, but each week gets sadder. "Every night before the show we have a cast huddle; the six of us get together and we say a couple of things—'break a leg,' you know," says Schwimmer. "Now in my mind, I'm like, wow, this is 17 more huddles, and then 16 more huddles and then 15. When January comes, we're all going to be very emotional. It's going to be tough." It won't be a picnic down the road, either. "When it's really going to be hard is three months after it's over and I go, 'Wow, I'm not going back'," says Cox. "That's going to be a killer. I mean, these are my buds."

And then what? What will they do when they're not "Friends"? LeBlanc won't go far: he's starring in a spinoff, "Joey." "I can think of worse fates than being Joey forever," he says. Cox and Aniston want to start families. Schwimmer will work in his theater in Chicago and do some directing. They'll all keep acting, of course. And except for LeBlanc, the one thing they're sure of is that they won't do another sitcom for a very long time. "Maybe in 20 years, if I'm literally pounding the pavement and I haven't even found a waitress job," says Aniston. "I would consider it maybe, maybe, maybe years down the line, 'cause you're never going to top this. I'd want people to forget 'Friends' first." She should live so long. ■

LITTLE-KNOWN FACT No. 6

The producers wrote the role of Ross with Schwimmer in mind, and he was the **first person cast.** LeBlanc was the last. Cox competed with two women to play Monica: actresses Nancy McKeon and Leah Remini.



SCHWIMMER BY CHRIS HASTON—NBC, CUP BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK

Let's Go

HIGH-TECH ADVENTURES: One hundred years a
a new breed of entrepreneur is pu
tu

SKY GAZERS: Observers in Mojave watch SpaceShipOne fly last week

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL KELLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

to Space!

ter the Wright brothers' famous flight,
shing new technologies to their limits,
ning science-fiction travel into reality

COURTESY OF SCALED COMPOSITES

The View From 300,000 Feet
SpaceShipOne, shown attached to its mother ship, White Knight, could make its first voyage to near orbit as early as this December. **Page 56**

INTO THE DEEP BLUE SEA **Page 62**
HIGHER, FASTER, FARTHER **Page 70**
HOT NEW GADGETS AND GEAR **Page 76**

ROCKET TEAM: White Knight and SpaceShipOne

BY BRAD STONE

IT WAS A PERFECT MORNING IN THE MOJAVE DESERT LAST week and almost a calamitous one. At dawn, a white twin-tailed airplane made of graphite composite emerged from the secrecy of an enclosed airport hangar and taxied to the runway. As a dozen onlookers and airport firemen watched, the exotic plane took off to the north over a wind turbine farm, and climbed in slow, lazy arcs to 45,000 feet, where it proceeded to chalk a white contrail in the eastern sky.

The airplane was White Knight, and strapped to its belly, a smaller vessel called SpaceShipOne—the craft that esteemed airplane designer Burt Rutan hopes will be the first privately built manned spaceship in human history. But as SpaceShipOne detached from White Knight for an unpowered glide test, the radio chatter at Mojave Airport was suddenly tinged with alarm. "Cut back on your trim, Mike, you're way out of it!" a voice urged Mike Melville, the ship's test pilot, over the com. SpaceShipOne, weighed down with lead ballast in its aft section to test the plane's handling, was plummeting out of control, rolling over twice and falling 11,000 feet before Melville could wrestle the ship out of its dive. The rest of the trial maneuvers were canceled, and both craft came in for landings just as the desert sun was heating up.

"Sure, there was a moment of worry," Rutan said later that afternoon. "The craft didn't behave as we expected it to." But Rutan, the man responsible for more innovations in modern aviation than any living engineer, such as the use of lightweight composite materials in aircraft, also said, "You expect anomalies when testing out radical designs." And the design—and purpose—of his ship are unmistakably radical. When fully operational, SpaceShipOne will sport a single rocket burning a hybrid fuel of nitrous oxide and HTPB (basically, rubber). Upon separating from White Knight, SpaceShipOne will be thrust to an altitude of 62 miles, the very edge of space, carrying a pilot and two passengers. Rutan, 60, is an energetic visionary, with old-fashioned sideburns and a slightly hunched-forward

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL KELLY FOR NEWSWEEK

CAPTAIN BURT: The aircraft designer in his Mojave shop

gait, as if he's trying to get to his next appointment faster than his legs will allow. Among his many accomplishments is Voyager, the first airplane to fly around the world without refueling. So it's worth listening when Rutan says that the design flaw exposed in the test can be fixed, and his private manned space program is on track—possibly for an inaugural flight on Dec. 17, the 100th anniversary of the birth of aviation.

It's probably too early to line up for tickets to space, but it couldn't hurt to start dreaming about it again. Rutan's company, Scaled Composites, is leading a movement to create a new adventure-tourism industry that would take paying customers higher than Mount Everest and make a bungee-cord leap seem as pedestrian as a sled ride. The idea of space tourism isn't new, but for the first time, credible businessmen like Rutan, videogame maven John Carmack and millionaire finance-analyst Dennis Tito are involved in efforts that have produced real hardware. These new adventure-travel entrepreneurs have the same risk-loving, fighter-jock mentality as yesterday's "Right Stuff" astronauts. Some are trying to win the X Prize, a $10 million dollar award offered by a St. Louis space-advocacy organization for the first team that sends a ship to the edge of space twice in two weeks. But they also seek to overhaul the economics of space travel, reducing the price and opening the door to regular folks who have dreamed of the final frontier since the exhilarating days of the Mercury and Apollo projects. "This is part of what human nature is all about, the desire to explore," says Tito.

Tito sparked the age of space tourism with his $20 million trip to the International Space Station in 2001 on a Russian-built Soyuz rocket. South African tech entrepreneur Mark Shuttleworth followed last year, paying another cool $20 million. They both describe the "unspeakable beauty" of the flight, seeing the gently sloping curvature of the Earth. Going to space "really does something to you," Shuttleworth says. But humans of more modest means can't afford to experience the transformative flight, and the Russians are unlikely to slash prices any time soon.

That leaves the development of affordable space tourism to Rutan and the new mavericks who are probing the boundaries of technology and safety. These privately built spaceships are designed to climb to what is known as suborbital space. Passengers will experience several minutes of weightlessness—though they'll probably be strapped to their seats—and will get to watch out windows as the sky turns black, the stars come out and the very idea of national borders suddenly becomes ephemeral. Because the ships are not leaving the planet's upper atmosphere, where they would go into orbit, they won't need the complicated heat protection required to return to Earth—a tricky and dangerous maneuver, even in NASA's hands. Alan Shepard, the first American astronaut, took this same suborbital trip in 1961 aboard a Mercury-Redstone rocket.

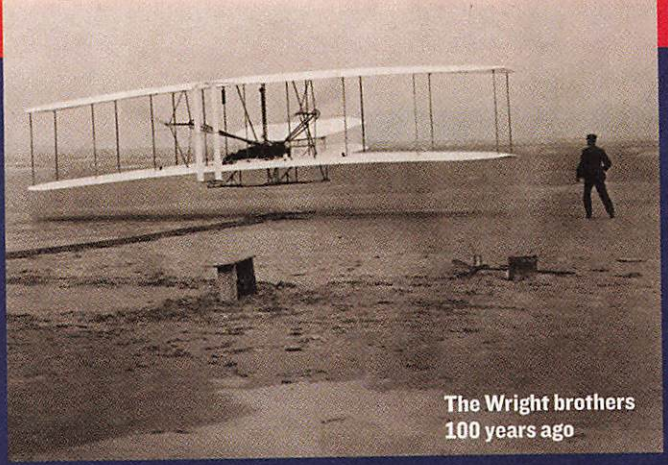
The two dozen teams around the world vying for the X Prize are all pursuing variations on the technology that propelled Shepard. One firm plans to launch its rocket from a helium balloon. Another has designed something akin to a flying saucer. The only team from Russia will load its craft atop a high-altitude airplane. And Doom creator John Carmack's New Mexico-based team, Armadillo Aerospace, has built a capsule that takes off on a rocket, then floats down under a parachute with a crushable nose cone to soften the landing.

"Sure, we were worried for a few moments. But you expect anomalies when testing out radical designs."

—BURT RUTAN

Newsweek MSNBC More Next Frontiers: Log on to Newsweek.MSNBC.com for a three-part series on adventure travel and digital photography. And join author Brad Stone for a Live Talk on Oct. 2 at noon, ET.

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL KELLY FOR NEWSWEEK



The Wright brothers 100 years ago

Taking to the Skies

The first 30 years of flight were unregulated, as pilots pushed the limits of man and machine and risked their lives to explore new horizons.

1903 WRIGHT BROTHERS: On Dec. 17, at Kitty Hawk, N.C., Wilbur Wright pilots the first official powered flight. His Flyer stays in the air for 59 seconds before a bone-jarring landing. A gust of wind blows the Flyer over, wrecking it completely.

1910 ROLLS KILLED: Car manufacturer Charles Rolls is killed when his Wright biplane crash-lands.

Rodgers

1911 COAST TO COAST: William Randolph Hearst offers $50,000 to the first pilot to cross the country in less than 30 days.

WWI DH-4 bomber

Cal Rodgers accepts the challenge and sets out from Brooklyn. Eighty-four days later, he reaches Long Beach, Calif., after 19 crashes, two broken legs and a broken collarbone.

1913 MONOPLANE: The Deperdussin, the first monoplane with a hollow fuselage, is unveiled in France. It becomes the fastest racer of its time thanks to its lightweight frame.

LOOP-DE-LOOP: First public loop-de-loop is flown in France. It becomes the basis for fighting maneuvers used by pilots in World War I.

Deperdussin monoplane

1917 U.S. ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR I: Congress approves $640 million to build 20,000 combat planes. The U.S. delivers only 1,400 aircraft, mostly versions of the de Havilland DH-4 bomber, by the end of the war in 1918. Yet, thousands of U.S. pilots come to the aid of the Allied forces, and aviation forever changes the face of war.

Ford Trimotor—inside and out

Barnstorming. Tennis anyone?

1920s BARNSTORMING: With its daredevil stunts, barnstorming becomes a popular attraction.

1926 AIR COMMERCE ACT: Federal regulation of commercial airlines and civil aviation begin.

FORD TRIMOTOR: The "Tin Goose" is the first all-metal civilian plane in the United States and the largest. The later 5-AT model holds 15 passengers and becomes a staple in the country's growing airline industry.

1927 CHARLES LINDBERGH: Makes first nonstop New York-to-Paris flight in his Ryan NYP, taking 33 hours.

1932 AMELIA EARHART: First woman to complete a solo transatlantic flight.

Lindbergh (left) and Earhart

REPORTED BY MEREDITH SADIN. SOURCES: "FLIGHT: 100 YEARS OF AVIATION," SMITHSONIAN NATIONAL AIR AND SPACE MUSEUM; WRIGHT BROS. CO. AND MUSEUM

The first journeys are likely to be fraught with danger, which is OK with X Prize founder Peter Diamandis. "We're talking about opening a frontier. With that, there are inherent risks."

So if some of these X Prize efforts become space-tourism businesses, who exactly would pay for the privilege of taking such a harrowing voyage? Try space enthusiasts like Richard Kummerow, a 46-year-old investment manager from Wisconsin who's been excited about space travel since he was a kid. Earlier this year, Kummerow and a friend took a two-and-a-half week trip to Russia, organized by Virginia-based Space Adventures, the same firm that brokered the Tito and Shuttleworth flights to the ISS. The pals were taken on gut-churning, acrobatic MiG flights, subjected to sickening rides on the centrifuge at Star City, outside Moscow, and treated to a stomach-tossing trip on an Ilyushin 76, an airplane that dives through the air for 30 seconds to simulate zero-gravity conditions. Total price tag for the two-week trip: $70,000—and they loved every minute of it. As for the possibility of a real, and more expensive, space shot, Kummerow says, "Sign me up, I can't wait until they start flying." Space Adventures says the waiting list is already long. A hundred customers have put $98,000 each in escrow to join a waiting list for a suborbital trip.

Even NASA seems enthusiastic about private industry's taking on the technological problems it solved in the early '60s. "It would be wonderful, if there are business cases to be made, and if low prices and reliability can be ensured," says NASA space

FROM TOP: CORBIS BETTMANN (2), NEIL RABINOWITZ—CORBIS, MUSEUM OF FLIGHT—CORBIS, CORBIS BETTMANN, CORBIS, CORBIS BETTMANN (2), NATIONAL AVIATION MUSEUM—CORBIS

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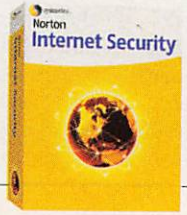
Antivirus
Personal Firewall
Privacy Protection
Parental Control
Spam Filtering



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architect Gary Martin. Those are big ifs. It's hard to predict the exact cost of operating a reusable space vehicle until it has undergone several flights, as the massive cost overruns of NASA's space-shuttle program aptly illustrate. Rutan says his goal is to erase that uncertainty by flying a number of times, finding out exactly how much it costs, and proving it's a low number. "If you have that information, you can credibly run a tourism business," he says. As for safety, Rutan notes that none of the 38 planes he has designed in his career have crashed during testing. But, he says, the early days of the commercial space industry could look like the birth of aviation, where a new industry slowly matured atop the sacrifices of dozens of pilots (page 58).

A bigger question is whether the U.S. government will let those accidents happen today. Jurisdiction over the new industry falls within the FAA. But the emergence of manned, reusable spacecraft has divided the agency: are these new ships more like airplanes, which fall under the aegis of the FAA's aviation team and are subject to a review process that takes years and millions of dollars to complete? Or are they more like rockets, which could be monitored by an office within the FAA called the Associate Administrator for Commercial Space Transportation, also known as AST? It's traditionally tasked with regulating commercial satellite launches and making sure that people on the ground are safe.

The space jockeys see years of delay if the aviation guys win out, and argued their case in congressional hearings this past summer. (Tito has hired a D.C. lobbyist to press the case for AST to regulate the industry.) Last week AST chief Patricia Grace Smith told NEWSWEEK that her office has submitted a definition of the new vehicles to the FAA administrator: they are spacecraft if they have more thrust (rocket

THE SKIES

Aviation mavericks are trying to mint a new class of airplane—and air travel

A Taxicab at 30,000 Feet

It's hard to expect world-altering change from the two biggest airplane manufacturers, Boeing and Europe's Airbus; they have too big a stake in the status quo. Boeing's new plane, the 7E7 Dreamliner, due in 2008, will use new lightweight materials and consume 20 percent less fuel per passenger. It will have a bit more cabin space than other Boeing aircraft too. Airbus's plane of the future, the double-decker A380, will carry more passengers than the jumbo 747, reduce noise and emission levels and even have room for a gym. Neither plane is likely to solve the biggest problems people have with air travel: congested airports, long lines, airlines that run on their schedule, not passengers', and that bypass many areas of the country altogether.

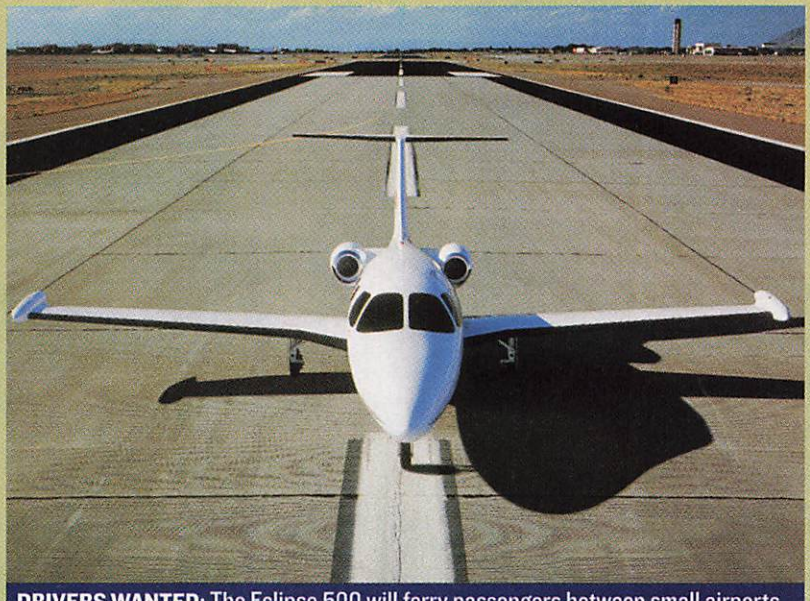
Now a new generation of aviation entrepreneurs is seeking to change the air-travel equation. They're the equivalent of today's space mavericks, entirely rethinking how the big boys conduct business. Their concept is called the air taxi, and you can think of it as a friendly neighborhood Checker cab with wings, ready to drop you off at any one of the nation's thousands of smaller airports, which aren't used by the major airliners. "In the world of aviation, if a market doesn't exist, it's interpreted as proof it can't exist," says Vern Raburn, the founder of an Albuquerque, N.M., company called Eclipse Aviation Corp. "We fight this."

Raburn knows all about society-altering innovations. As one of the first entrepreneurs in the PC industry, he joined Microsoft in the mid-'70s and made a bundle. Bill Gates was best man at his wedding. A licensed pilot and member of several corporate boards in the '90s, he found himself logging 1,000 hours in 22 months on his private jet, and knew he could never have pulled off his brutal schedule taking regular planes. Eclipse was founded in 1998 to build an airplane cheap and nimble enough for regional taxi services—which don't yet exist, but Raburn thinks they will—and to "enable a new layer of the aviation infrastructure." Gates and Microsoft cofounder Paul Allen chipped in millions in seed money to send the venture down the runway.

Raburn immediately found out that radically changing the air-travel industry is harder than it looks. He tried to innovate on several fronts, bringing digital technology to the plane's control systems and manufacturing process, and commissioning a lightweight, low-cost turbofan jet engine from aircraft-engine designer Sam Williams. Williams's firm failed to concoct the technology for the brand-new design, and Raburn had to switch to another, less advanced engine from Pratt & Whitney, losing two years of development time.

The Eclipse 500, now due in 2006, will have room for five passengers, use 40 percent less runway than the smallest jets and cost $1 million, about a quarter of the price tag of current private planes made by Cessna and Raytheon. Raburn says he already has 2,100 orders for the Eclipse. Another company, the Denver-based Adam Aircraft, says it has just started accepting orders for its slightly more expensive and larger plane, the A700 jet, which should be available by the end of 2004. Soon when you get to the airport, instead of heading to the ticket line you might be hailing a cab.

—BRAD STONE



DRIVERS WANTED: The Eclipse 500 will ferry passengers between small airports

COURTESY OF ECLIPSE AVIATION

BIGWIGS IN SPACE: South African technology entrepreneur Mark Shuttleworth (above) and financier Dennis Tito (right) got their turns in space for $20 million, courtesy of the Russians. Virgin boss Richard Branson is reportedly keen on going into orbit as well.

have surely crashed SpaceShipOne during the anomalous flight test, whereas pilot Mike Melville was able to save it with chutzpah and experience.) And he's taking the quickest, most aggressive approach to flight testing his creation, throwing caution to the wind even if that means accepting a high degree of risk.

One reason Rutan is able to do what companies like XCOR cannot is his unusually deep pockets: a $30 million grant from a mystery millionaire that his company calls "the customer." NEWSWEEK reported last spring that the customer was rumored to be Microsoft cofounder Paul Allen, the third-wealthiest man in America. Allen and Rutan still have no comment, but several Scaled employees note that the firm is making not just a spaceship, but also a movie—a documentary film crew has been capturing every major step of the project for more than a year. The production company making the film, NEWSWEEK has learned, does work for a small Seattle outfit called Vulcan Productions—Allen's documentary film company.

"Human interest in exploring the heavens goes back centuries. This is what human nature is all about."

—DENNIS TITO

power) than lift (airplane power) for a majority of the powered stage of their journey. The space mavericks are happy with that classification, and are trying to add it to an AST reauthorization bill on Capitol Hill.

If that definition becomes law, it will come as a particular relief to fledgling space companies like XCOR Aerospace, whose funding depends on presenting an unhindered business environment to investors. The engineers at the small, 12-person Mojave, Calif., firm, down the street from Scaled Composites, have designed the Xerus, a winged space plane intended to carry a passenger and pilot to suborbital space at Mach 4, powered by at least four kerosene rockets. The ship looks sleek in the drawings, the engineers have plenty of experience building spacecraft—but the company is totally broke. They work from an un-air-conditioned former Marine hangar and pay for their efforts out of their own pockets. CEO Jeff Greason says he's waiting to see if the government will even let him have a business, before he can conclude talks with interested investors like Dennis Tito. "There's money waiting for me if we can just resolve the regulatory issues," he says.

Burt Rutan, meanwhile, isn't waiting for anything. Everything he has done so far with his space program appears to comply with no one's rules but his own. He applied to the AST for a launch license. But he insists he doesn't really need one, and worries that the moment his employees need to defend their spaceship to the FAA, they will be in the wrong frame of mind to keep examining and improving it. He's put a human pilot at the controls of the ship, something no governmental space agency will do in an age of ubiquitous computer operations. (A computer, Rutan notes, would

The goal of the space program and the movie, Rutan says, is the same: to "get kids dreaming about space again." It already seems to be working. At Rutan's 60th birthday party in June, while friends arrived at Mojave Airport from all over the country in Rutan's innovative airplanes, a young boy approached the brilliant designer with a roll of dimes. He wanted the dimes to go up in SpaceShipOne, so he could distribute them to his friends. Rutan took the roll, and is determined to get it into space—even if he has to overcome a few more close calls to get there. ■

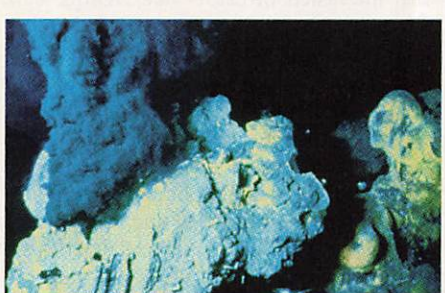
CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: GETTY IMAGES, SHAMIL ZHUMATOV—REUTERS-CORBIS, MARK BAKER—REUTERS

Out of the Blue

Five years ago 'undersea tourism' meant scuba diving in the shallows. Now, all it takes to fathom the deepest waters is bravery, curiosity and a few thousand bucks.

BY MARY CARMICHAEL

THERE ARE CORNERS OF THE ocean that Navy Capt. Alfred McLaren has never seen, but to hear him recount his life story, it's hard to believe they'll stay hidden from him for long. At the age of 4, he decided his life's ambition was to see a "deep-sea monster" like the ones he had read about in National Geographic. Twenty-two years later he became one of the first hundred people chosen to pilot a deep-sea monster of a different variety—a U.S. nuclear submarine. Since then, he has played a game of baseball at the North Pole ("If you threw it from right field, you literally threw it back to yesterday"), gazed upon the undersides of icebergs and battled a polar bear who mistook his sub's periscope for an emerging seal. He has descended five times to the ruins of shipwrecks and the churning hot waters of hydrothermal vents in the Atlantic. He has seen more of the seas in 71 years than the entire human race had seen before he was born. So now that he's retired from the Navy, isn't it time to hang up his helmet and publish his memoirs?



SIGHT-SEAING: Divers can explore shipwrecks or go deeper to hydrothermal vents

Not quite. He's "been too busy living" to write a life story, he says, and besides, there are a few things he hasn't done yet. For instance, he hasn't yet helped open an "underwater flight school" where would-be pilots can train on a one-of-a-kind, quick-and-agile two-person submarine called Deep Flight Aviator in waters as deep as 1,500

TOP TO BOTTOM: JONATHAN BLAIR—CORBIS, B. MURTON/SOUTHAMPTON OCEANOGRAPHY CENTER—PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

studies indicate a handful of nuts a day can be good for your heart.

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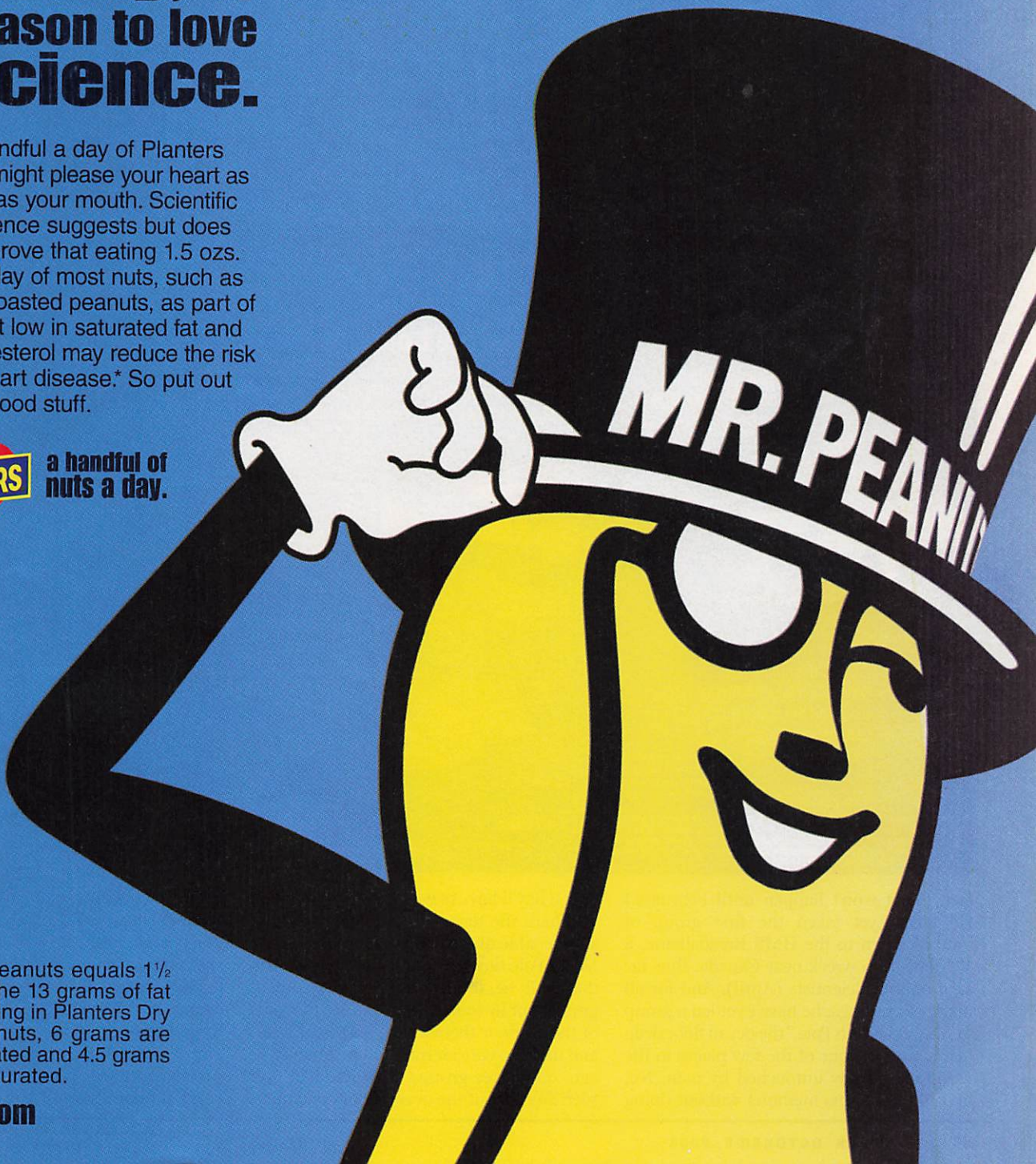

*1.5 ozs. of peanuts equals 1½ servings. Of the 13 grams of fat per 1 oz. serving in Planters Dry Roasted Peanuts, 6 grams are monounsaturated and 4.5 grams are polyunsaturated.

planters.com

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High-Seas Adventure

Looking for more excitement than a Saturday dinner cruise? Options both above and below the waves are almost limitless, regardless of your skill level.

Opening the Frontiers

High-tech gear is no longer limited to the pros. Research vessels are doubling as dive ships, icebreakers ferry tourists to the North Pole and advanced engineering is available on everyday cruises.

Wave Riding

New technologies offer novel twists on familiar sports like surfing, while creating whole new options such as kite surfing.

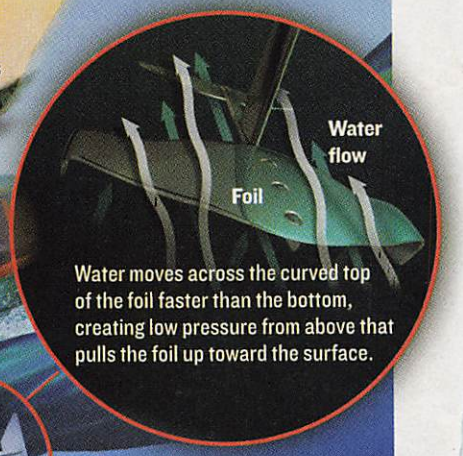
Kite surfing: With or without swells, a surfer's need to ride can be met with a stiff breeze and a special board.

Life vest

Kite harness

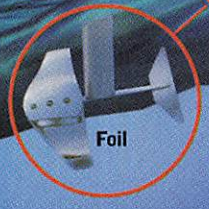
Snowboard boots and bindings

Surfboard made with Kevlar



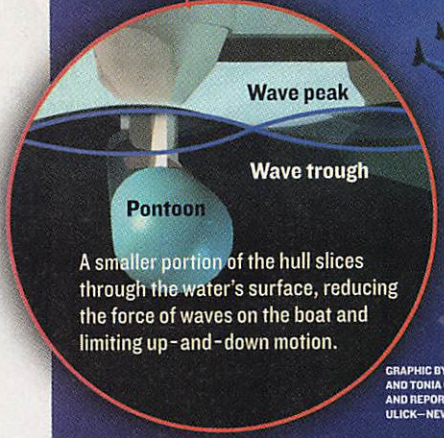
Water moves across the curved top of the foil faster than the bottom, creating low pressure from above that pulls the foil up toward the surface.

Foil boarding: Mini hydrofoils allow surfers to achieve faster and smoother rides by lifting the board out of the water.



The foil, which works like an airplane wing, can stay upright at speeds as low as 3mph.

Smooth sailing: Go whale-watching without getting seasick on these specially designed ships.



A smaller portion of the hull slices through the water's surface, reducing the force of waves on the boat and limiting up-and-down motion.

Submarine Lodging

Jules' Undersea Lodge in Key Largo, Fla., offers aquatic adventure with all the amenities of home. Guests enjoy DVDs, hot showers and chef service as the fish swim by outside.

Life-support systems monitored onshore

Common room

Bathroom and shower

Rooms 8 feet by 10 feet

Dive-in, dive-out entrance

Entrance 30 feet below the surface

GRAPHIC BY KEVIN HAND AND TONIA COWAN; TEXT AND REPORTING BY JOSH ULICK—NEWSWEEK.

SOURCES: LAIRDHAMILTON.COM; BOB WOOLEY OF AIRCHAIR.COM; ALFRED S. MCLAREN, THE EXPLORERS CLUB; JOEL D. SILVERSTEIN, SCUBA TRAINING & TECHNOLOGY CO.; DIVING GEAR FROM ABYSS DIVE SYSTEMS; JULES' UNDERSEA LODGE; SWATH INTERNATIONAL LIMITED; DEEP OCEAN EXPEDITIONS; NOAA; ATLANTIS ADVENTURES; STUART COVE'S SUB BAHAMAS; R.W. BILL HAMILTON

feet. (That won't happen until February.) He hasn't yet taken the first group of tourists down to the HMS Breadalbane, a 375-foot-deep wreck near Canada, thus far seen only by scientists (April). And for all his Arctic outings, he hasn't yet led a group to "the real North Pole," the ocean floor deep below the ice—one of the few places in the world completely untouched by man. No, he can't finish his memoirs without doing that. They'll have to wait until at least 2005.

That's the tentative date for man's first submersible dive through the waters of the North Pole down to its foundations—a trip that will be funded not by government grants, but by tourists eager to see that part of the seafloor themselves. It's remarkable, and more so considering that just five years ago, only three groups of people had ever seen *any* part of the ocean floor: scientists, submarine pilots and moviemakers. The first paid dearly for the privilege, toiling for years over dissertations, begging public and private benefactors for funding, then handing over $35,000-odd of it in exchange for 10 claustrophobic hours in a three-person titanium sphere. The second group worked no less hard, earning engineering degrees and following up with years of pilot training. The third spent mil-

GRAPHIC BY KEVIN HAND AND TONIA COWAN. TEXT AND REPORTING BY JOSH ULICK—NEWSWEEK.
PHOTO HANDOUTS COURTESY OF JULES' UNDERSEA LODGE.

Deep-Sea Exploration

Oceans cover 70 percent of Earth's surface, but much of them remains unexplored. Now high-tech gear and adventure tours are opening the depths to everyone.

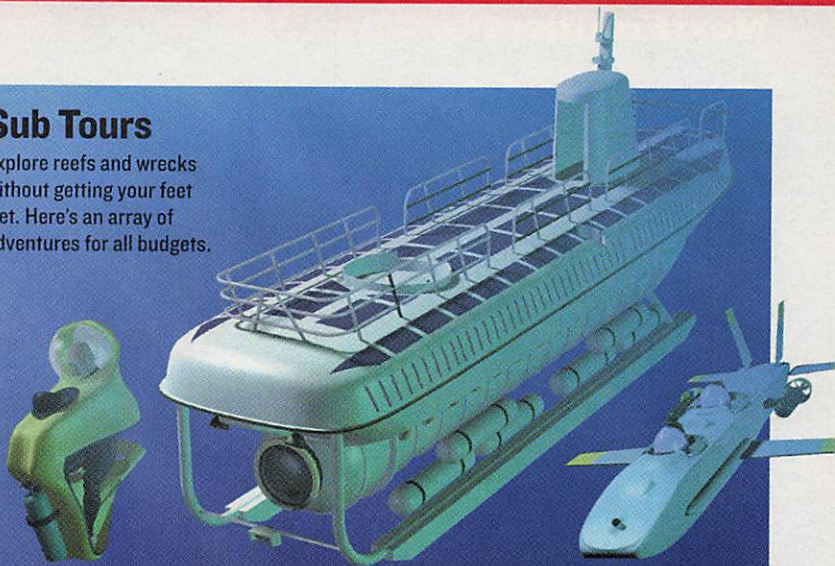
Technical Diving

Recreational scuba divers rarely go below 130 feet. But if you want to explore deep wrecks like the Andrea Doria, you need specialized equipment, like the setup shown below.

Nitrogen, oxygen and helium mix for deep parts of the dive
Pure oxygen for final decompression
Gas tanks: Compressed air turns toxic at great depths and pressures, so divers need specialized mixes.
Reduced nitrogen mix for first decompression stop

Sub Tours

Explore reefs and wrecks without getting your feet wet. Here's an array of adventures for all budgets.



Mini subs: Rent your own personal submersible in Nassau, Bahamas, for $95.

Group tours: Enjoy Hawaii's reefs from 100 feet below in the safety of an Atlantis sub.

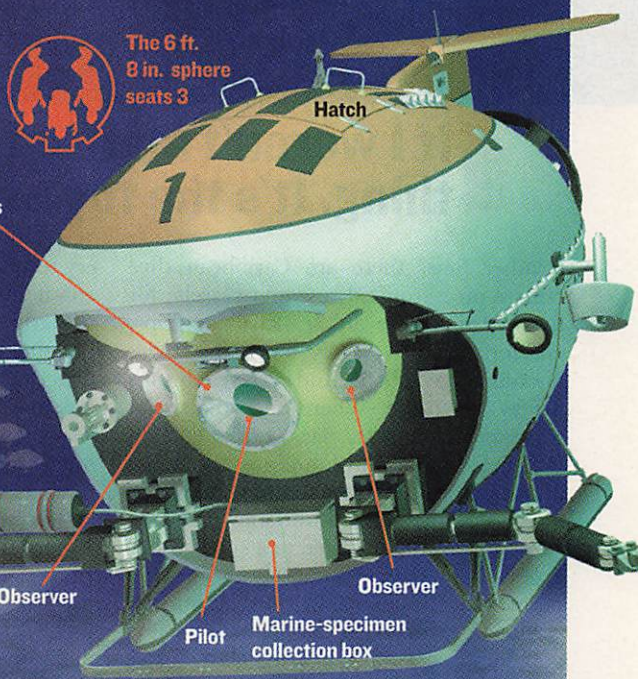
Deep Flight Aviator: This new sub can descend 1,500 feet and travel almost 11 knots.

Deep-Sea Submersibles

Only a handful of subs can dive below 10,000 feet, including the MIR, which offers adventurous amateurs the chance to explore deep wrecks like the Titanic on Explorers Club tours.

Range: With a max. depth of 20,000+ feet, MIR can reach over 90% of the seafloor.

Capacity: MIR holds one pilot and two crew members and can stay down for more than 20 hours.



Titanic
Tour highlights include the captain's quarters, the starboard anchor and the propellers
It takes 11 to 12 hours to complete the tour, 12,500 feet below the surface.

lions for a few precious minutes of film.

But today, the highest price most people pay for a trip to the ocean floor is a mere $40,000 or so, and no technical training is required. That's thanks largely to the efforts of explorers like McLaren, who have opened their underwater worlds to the general public. The movement started in 1998, shortly after the release of James Cameron's "Titanic." The film sparked the imagination of entrepreneur Mike McDowell—and of the 12 tourists who promptly paid him $32,500 for the chance to cram into Russian MIR submersibles and descend two and a half miles to the wreck itself. Since then, ocean-based adventure travel has become Earth's hottest form of ecotourism, the small but trendy travel niche for the intrepid and outdoorsy (the "eco" comes from "ecosystem," naturally). Although it carries a high price tag, underwater travel is far cheaper than spaceflight, fresher and more unique than rain-forest treks and risky enough to elicit the wide-eyed admiration of friends back home while rarely placing anyone in serious danger. And it boasts a variety of experiences spaceflight can't touch: trips to shipwrecks, to the majestic hydrothermal vents, through thick polar ice on nuclear-powered ships. For warm-

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: PHOTO BY JOEL SILVERSTEIN SPECIAL FOR NEWSWEEK, PHOTO BY ALFRED MCLAREN, PHOTO BY BOB WILLIAMS.

DEEP FLIGHT: McLaren and Hawkes take the Aviator out for a cruise

"If I weren't married to my wife, I would marry this thing. It's the toy every boy has always wanted."

—ALFRED MCLAREN

weather fans, there are Caribbean dive cruises on retrofitted research vessels; for the athletic, there are sea-kayaking trips, and for the, shall we say, less active, there are submerged hotels. And each year brings a new adventure. Where once the ocean was *aqua incognita*, says explorer Don Walsh, today the only limits are "the extent of your curiosity and the size of your purse."

So far, the second variable has kept ocean exploration limited to a small, lucky group of travelers ($40,000 is cheap compared with the cost of spaceflight, but not compared with much else). Although several hundred people board polar cruises every year, no more than 100 total have seen the hydrothermal vents, and even fewer, 50 or so, have explored the Titanic. As for that two-person sub, there are precisely that many people in the world certified to pilot it—McLaren and the inventor, Graham Hawkes. For most, undersea adventures are still mere Jules Verne-style fantasies. But as options increase, lower-priced trips are becoming available, opening the door to newcomers.

That's mainly good news, but—like every technological leap that's ever been taken—it does have a few people worried, particularly environmentalists. The most pressing problem is the same one that has dogged land-based adventure travel: the possibility that ecotourism will damage the very ecosystem it sets out to tour. Nowhere has this been more of a point of contention than at the site of the Titanic. The wreck is still hauntingly beautiful, so much so that it inspires many visitors to make return voyages. ("I couldn't think of anything to top my first trip," says Bob Williams, 62, a lifelong enthusiast who first went in 2001. "So naturally, I had to go again.") But beauty is transient, particularly on the seafloor. In the past five years, iron-eating microbes called rusticles have caused the Titanic to deteriorate much faster than scientists expected. Preservationists blame the increase in rusticles on tourism, which they claim has stirred up the silt surrounding the wreck. McLaren doesn't buy it—he notes that the last thing pilots want to do is stir up silt. "If you were dumb enough to do that, you wouldn't be able to see anything," he says. He suspects the increased rusticle activity is due to the overfishing-induced collapse of the food chain. In any case, the preservationists won't prevent him from returning to the Titanic or checking out other shipwrecks. Next up: the Breadalbane with Walsh, for the bargain price of $9,980.

Deep Ocean Expeditions, the company that has organized the vast majority of the shipwreck dives, also offers trips to hydrothermal vents, undersea geysers that spew hot water from the seafloor and serve as homes for creatures unlike any others on earth—eyeless shrimp in the Atlantic, tubeworms and clams as big as hubcaps in the Pacific. Scientists know very little about the vents, and the tourist trips have a few of them worried, too. Susan Humphris, a deep-sea geologist at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, notes that submersibles may disturb the vents, foiling scientists' attempts to continuously monitor natural activity there. "Do we have evidence that they're causing problems? Well, no," she says. "But for someone with an active experiment there, it's got to be a concern." Humphris is one of

JAY WADE

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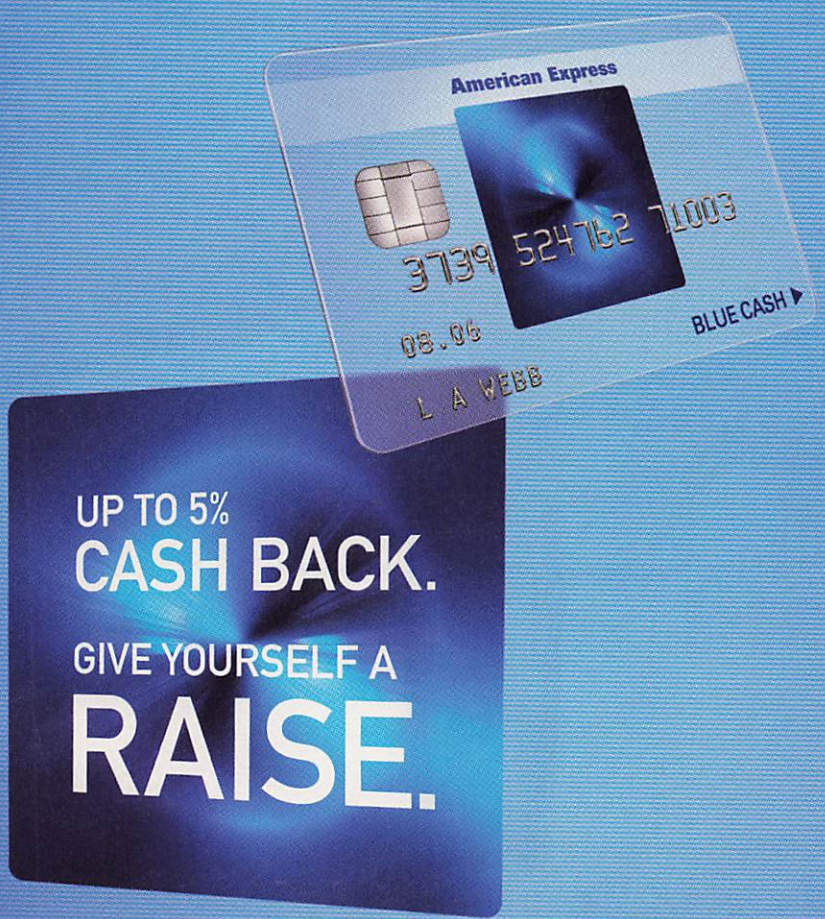

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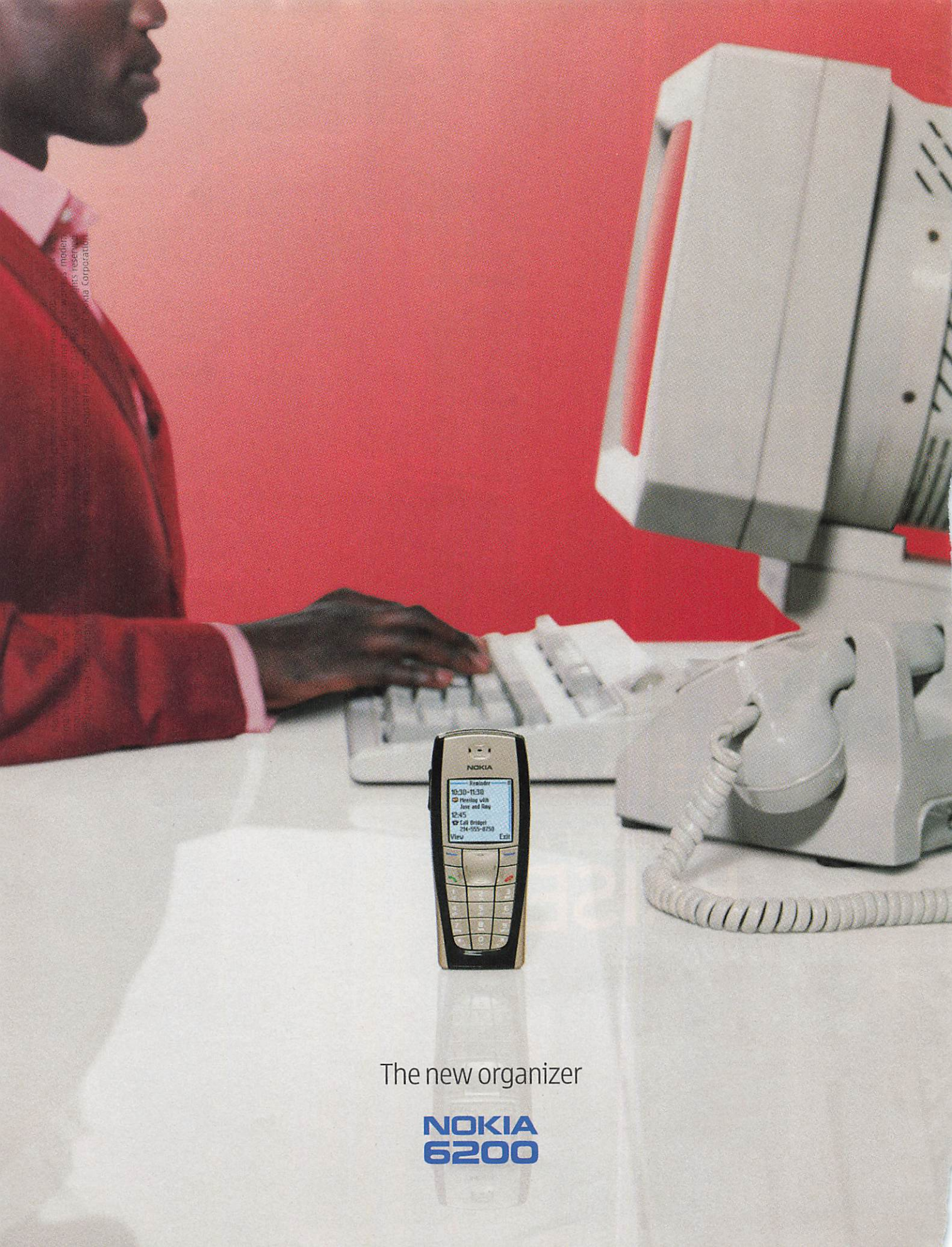

The new organizer

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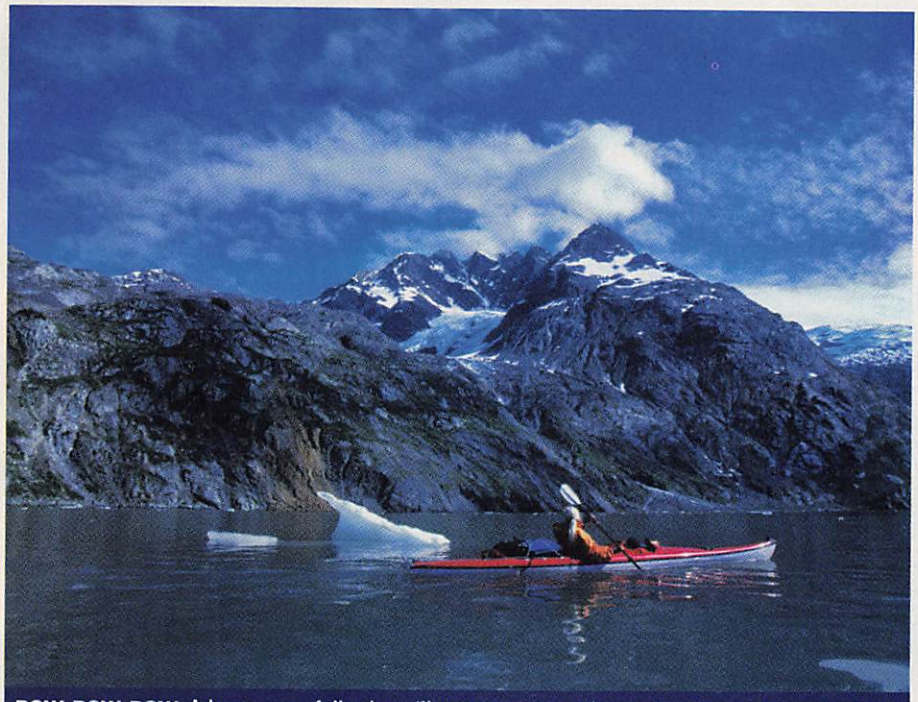

ROW, ROW, ROW: Adventurous folk who still want to stay on the surface can rent kayaks for expeditions up the coast of Alaska or down rivers that travel through the Andes and out to sea

those concerned scientists. Last summer Cameron—who has made two undersea documentaries since "Titanic," including this year's "Ghosts of the Abyss"—wanted to take a MIR and a camera down to a vent system in the Atlantic where she had placed probes. He "very graciously" agreed to delay the shoot, she says, at least until she finished.

Cameron won't be able to shoot in the coming year, either: 2004 marks a hiatus in undersea exploration as the world's four MIRs are being recalled to Russia for regular maintenance. Ocean-based adventure travel won't completely stop, though. The Russians have licensed out ships for cruises through the Arctic and Antarctic, which appeal to explorers who are too intimidated to entrust their lives to submersible pilots. One company, Big Five Tours & Expeditions, offers three kinds of trips through the polar ice caps, including one on a nuclear icebreaker (there are only five such ships in the world). The voyages aren't risk-free. Last year a 14-day, $16,000 trip stalled when the ship got stuck in the ice and had to be rescued two weeks later by another icebreaker. The reaction, says Raj Sanghrajka, Big Five's vice president of marketing, wasn't fear: "The tourists loved it."

There's another kind of vehicle that could keep ocean explorers busy while the MIRs get fixed up: Deep Flight Aviator, the two-person sub. Starting Oct. 30, it will be on display at the Ft. Lauderdale International Boat Show. Then it's headed for the water. McLaren and Hawkes hope their "flight" school will be in session, either in the Bahamas or off the coast of Baja California, Mexico, by February. Almost no previous training is needed—if you can drive, you can probably handle the Deep Flight Aviator, which travels as fast as 11 knots and maneuvers like a sports car. "If I weren't married to my wife, I'd marry this thing," says McLaren. "It's the toy that every boy has always wanted." Quite a few scientists may end up wanting one, too. McLaren sees a day, not far off, when Deep Flight Aviator will search for everything from lost Anasazi civilizations to the Loch Ness monster. (Given his love of deep-sea monsters, that would be appropriate.)

Still, compared with the past few years, 2004 may be relatively quiet for undersea explorers. No matter: 2005 will more than make up for it, if McLaren, McDowell and Walsh have their way. The North Pole dive is their big dream, one they've been nursing since a 1997 vodka toasting session in the captain's cabin of a Russian icebreaker. They tried that year to raise the money by selling seats but came up more than a million short. That, of course, was back when ocean tourism went no further than scuba diving. Today they think the time has come, and they're building support for the voyage. Deep Ocean Expeditions still needs money ("It's not a charity," Walsh says, "though you wouldn't know it from the books"). But now it has experience. And, more important, it no longer sounds outlandish to propose a vacation at the bottom of the ocean—even at the top of the world. ■

BARRY TESSMAN—NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY IMAGES

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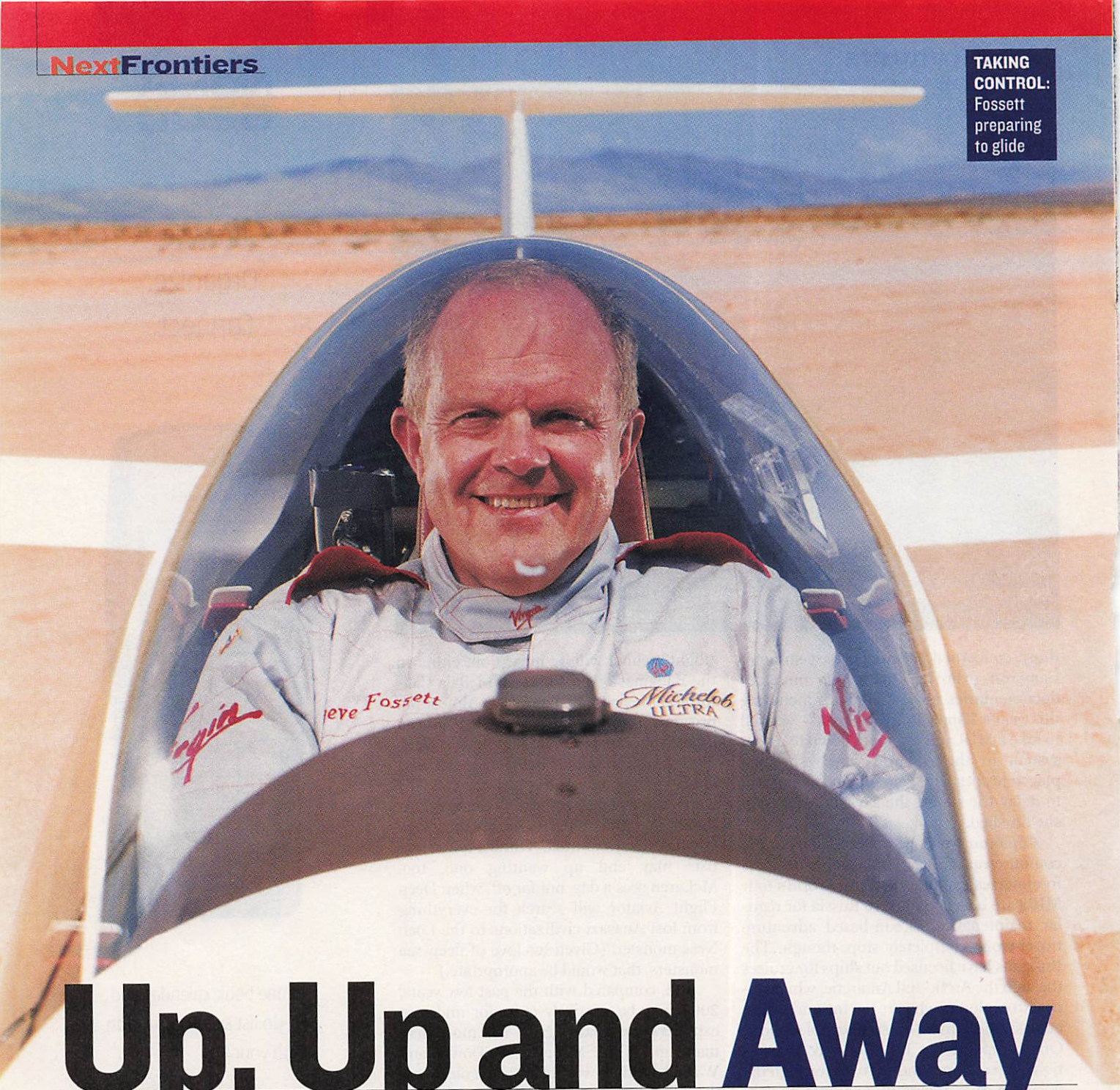

TAKING CONTROL: Fossett preparing to glide

Up, Up and Away

BY JERRY ADLER

Millionaire adventurer Steve Fossett may be best known for his round-the-world solo balloon voyage last year—but now he's aiming even higher

STEVE FOSSETT WAS HOME LAST week in Beaver Creek, Colo.—not where you usually find him—keeping an eye on the wind. Before that, he was in Omarama, New Zealand, waiting for the right weather conditions to fly his specially outfitted high-altitude glider into the stratosphere, which would set a new height record for unpowered flight. Earlier in the month he was at a dusty desert airfield in Mojave, Calif., testing his speed-and-distance glider, in which he hopes to set several new records for speed and distance in November in Argentina. Before then, though, he is planning an attempt to set a new 24-hour distance sailing record in his 125-foot catamaran, considered by some the fastest sailboat in the world. That would be in the North Atlantic, sailing northeast from Cape Hatteras in the middle of the Gulf Stream. At any moment, the world's weather is generating unimaginably more power than all its power plants combined—and Steve Fossett wants just a few kilowatts of it to blow him somewhere, faster or higher or farther than anyone else has ever gone.

The wind has been good to Fossett. In just under 15 days, it blew him across Australia, South America and the Pacific, Indian and

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL KELLY ON ASSIGNMENT FOR NEWSWEEK

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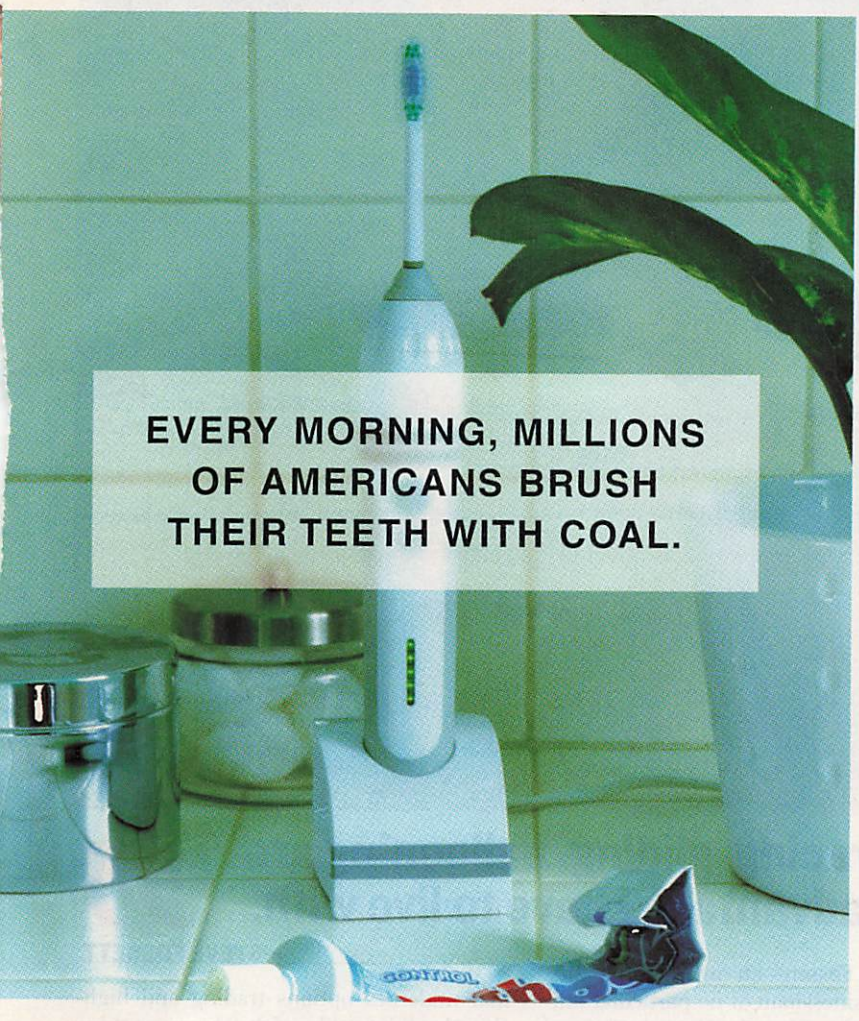

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WINGED VICTORY: The ASH-25M in the Mojave

"The fact that sailboat racing, gliding, ballooning are dangerous is just a disadvantage I have to live with."

—STEVE FOSSETT

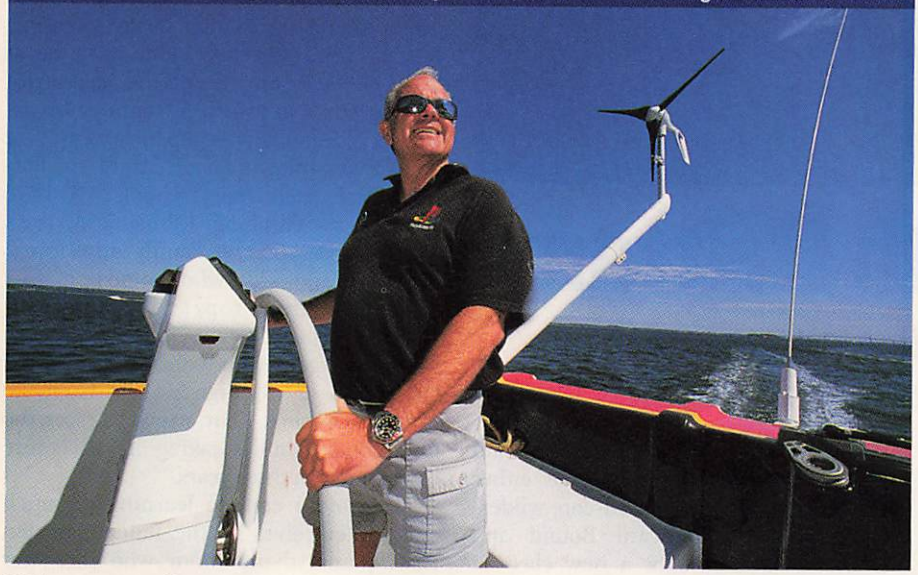
Atlantic oceans last year, when he became the first person to fly alone round the world in a balloon, his signature achievement. He holds, among many others, records for the fastest speed in a manned balloon (200.24 miles per hour), for the greatest distance flown in a balloon over 24 hours (3,186.80 statute miles), for eastbound transatlantic sailing (New York to England in four days, 17½ hours), for westbound transatlantic sailing (the "Columbus route," Cádiz to San Salvador, in nine days, 13½ hours) and for covering 1,000 kilometers in a glider (6 hours, 17 minutes, 54 seconds, corresponding roughly to a speed of 100 miles per hour). His life is a tribute to mankind's enduring dream of escaping the friction-bound Earth into effortless flight—and to the fabulously creative, preposterously expensive technology that makes it possible.

In fact, Fossett—an unassuming 59-year-old businessman of no particular athletic ability (he swam the English Channel in 1985, but in the slowest time of the year)—is a model for the 21st-century adventurer, one part Captain Cook to three parts Bill Gates. Fossett brings to adventuring the same skills he used to make a substantial fortune as head of a Chicago-based options-trading firm. He knows how to assemble and run a large organization: the solo balloon flight was backed by a team of more than a dozen, including meteorologists, communications specialists, air-traffic monitors and an "inflation director." He has endurance and concentration: during the balloon trip he averaged four hours of sleep out of 24, mostly in 45-minute naps. And above all, he is an expert at assessing and managing the phenomenon that underlies options trading and high-altitude gliding alike: risk. The worst thing you can call Fossett is a thrill seeker, putting him on a par with bungee jumpers and stunt pilots. Actually, he *was* a stunt pilot, but he sold his stunt plane, along with his Ducati motorcycle; neither sport seemed worth the likelihood that sooner or later he'd wind up in traction, or worse. "I've chosen these sports—sailboat racing, gliding, ballooning—and the fact that they're dangerous is just a disadvantage that I have to live with," he says mildly. "I don't enjoy the risks. I spend a lot of time trying to *reduce* the risks."

And that's how he happens to find himself on the taxiway of a remote airfield in the Mojave Desert in early September, zipped into a flame-resistant flight suit

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL KELLY ON ASSIGNMENT FOR NEWSWEEK

CAST YOUR FATE TO THE WINDS: Fossett's balloon crosses the east coast of Australia on a solo round-the-world try; at the helm of PlayStation, his 125-foot racing catamaran



("It's not actually required, but I figure, why not?" he says with the nonchalance of someone who wore a suit to work for 20-odd Chicago summers), fiddling with the controls of his ASH-25M glider. His co-pilot, Einar Enevoldson, a retired Air Force and NASA pilot, is in a T shirt. Fossett will be taking the ASH to Argentina in November to catch the "mountain wave" east of the Andes. Most sport gliders stay aloft by searching for thermal updrafts caused by uneven heating of the ground, which they do by flying around in circles a lot—not a very efficient way to cover distance, even with the ASH's 60-to-1 glide ratio. But when a broad wind front crosses a high mountain range, it creates a unique pattern on the downwind side, a sine-wave undulation that can extend invisibly for as much as 100 miles. Catching one of these waves and staying in it, an exquisite feat of both perception and control, is the best way to fly your way into the record books.

Fossett scrunches his bulk into the fuselage of the ASH, suspended between wings whose 84-foot span is six feet longer than the space shuttle's. One of the day's goals is to test the ASH's tiny but noisy rotary engine, which powers a propeller just behind the cockpit. The engine will be used to take off and, if necessary, to motor back to the airstrip. But first he goes through a tedious routine of checking out all the control surfaces. He wiggles the stick and the left flap responds, wiggles it again and the right flap ... does nothing. A control rod got itself disconnected, a frightening reminder of the fragility of the quarter-million-dollar machine to which Fossett is about to entrust his life. But Fossett never loses control of himself. "This will remind me—a positive control check is never redundant," he says calmly, as mechanics grope around in the machine's innards. He stands patiently under the relentless Mojave sun, then climbs back inside and disappears into the desert sky.

Fossett has firm ideas about which challenges interest him. Traditional sailboat racing, with its byzantine classes and handicaps, holds no appeal. "I want to be the fastest," he says simply; what's the fun of "winning" a race in which the other guy actually comes in first? The idea of flying a glider into the stratosphere, though—which he failed to do in New Zealand this summer, and will attempt again in 2004—appeals to him on every level: it's physically and intellectually demanding and technologically complex, requiring full-pressure suits and cutting-edge meteorology. And there's a chance not merely to set a new record but to obliterate the old glider altitude mark of 49,000 feet, set in 1986. Fossett's plane is designed to reach 62,000 feet, and a successor, not yet built, will be capable of soaring without power to 100,000 feet—several miles higher than a U-2 spy plane.

Of course, records are meant to be broken, and Fossett accepts the inevitability that people will someday glide, sail or balloon farther and faster. In some ways, he welcomes it, because "generally the only two times the public hears about you is when you set a record and when someone else breaks it." He's not interested in celebrity as such; he's rarely recognized on the street, and usually only by fellow enthusiasts. The solo balloon flight, after five unsuccessful tries, was covered exhaustively by television, but somehow failed to endear him to the public. The Chicago Tribune, which regards him as a semi-hometown boy (although he was born in California and has retired to Colorado) ran a number of reader letters after the feat, the common theme of which was "Thank God he did it; now we never have to hear about it again."

He does it because it's fun, he says, and for the satisfaction of setting and surpassing a difficult goal, and doing something other people only dream about. He could easily afford, if he chose, to fly into space—in fact, he has a substantial private investment in Dick Rutan's space-plane project—but, he says, being a passenger on anything, even a spaceship, holds no interest for him. "Flying in the space shuttle would be fascinating," he allows, his face brightening for a moment. "But I'd want to be the pilot." ■

TOP TO BOTTOM: STEVE HOLLAND—CORBIS-REUTERS-POOL, BILLY BLACK

HIGH POWERED: LaGrega rows crew but discovered new strengths adventuring out west

Travels With Brittany

Goodbye, roasted marshmallows. A generation of adrenaline-driven teens takes camping to a new level.

BY SUSANNAH MEADOWS

BRITTANY LAGREGA, 14, IS LEAVing Long Island, N.Y., in a few days for a camping trip on steroids—rock climbing in the Grand Tetons, white-water kayaking and hiking more than 30 miles with a 50-pound pack on her back, all in two weeks—but on this morning at an Eastern Mountain Sports store, the adventure has already begun. Sales associate Steve Sadowski has broken a sweat delivering, like a ponytailed Saint Nick, all the items on Brittany's equipment list. Two Nalgene water bottles, check; two polypropylene shirts, check; one stuff sack—"What's a stuff sack?" asks Brittany. She's never done this kind of thing before but was encouraged by her crew coach to push herself. "My friend's brother said he only took one shower," says Brittany. "I'm going to, like, die."

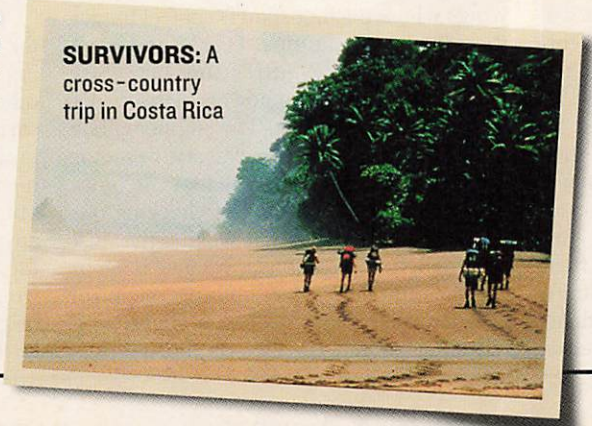
Unseasoned kids like Brittany are flocking to adventure travel and rising to new limits of achievement, thrill and dirtiness. Where there was once either plain old camping or the hard-core wilderness training of Outward Bound and NOLS, the '90s brought a new class of adventure-travel companies that flipped the philosophy from less to more. Emphasizing fun over outdoor fundamentals and cramming more excitement into fewer days, these new trips attract kids for whom roasting marshmallows is so over. With their families or in groups of teens, they're backcountry snowboarding, hiking across glaciers and swimming with stingrays. "Now kids are addicted to the rush, whether it's going on the next roller coaster or conquering the next mountain," says travel expert Emily Kaufman.

High-tech gear has helped get more kids off their chaises longues by making the adventures more comfortable and fun. Every year brings lighter, better gear and softer, faster-drying, more water-resistant fabrics. And which kid—or adult—doesn't want to play with a toy like the Rino, which is like a walkie-talkie that maps the location of the other user? Meanwhile, advances in cellphone technology are reassuring to parents whose kids are far away, while more sophisticated guides and training keep the adventures safe. And "the equipment has made it so you can get better [at a sport] a lot faster," says John Dockendors of Adventure Treks, a travel group.

Younger and younger kids, and more girls, are taking to this more accessible playing field. Generally, kids must be at least 13 to go on one of the teen trips, like Brittany's trek with Adventures Cross-Country. But many companies now take the whole family on an adventure—including kids in elementary school. "We have young girls climbing Kilimanjaro," says Thomson Safaris and Family Adventures' Judi Wineland. Kids, who should be at least 12 for high-altitude trips and 7 for other adventures, especially enjoy interactive trips, where they can swim with sea lions in the Galápagos, says George Morgan-Grenville of Abercrombie & Kent, which has seen the number of families taking its adventure trips double in three years.

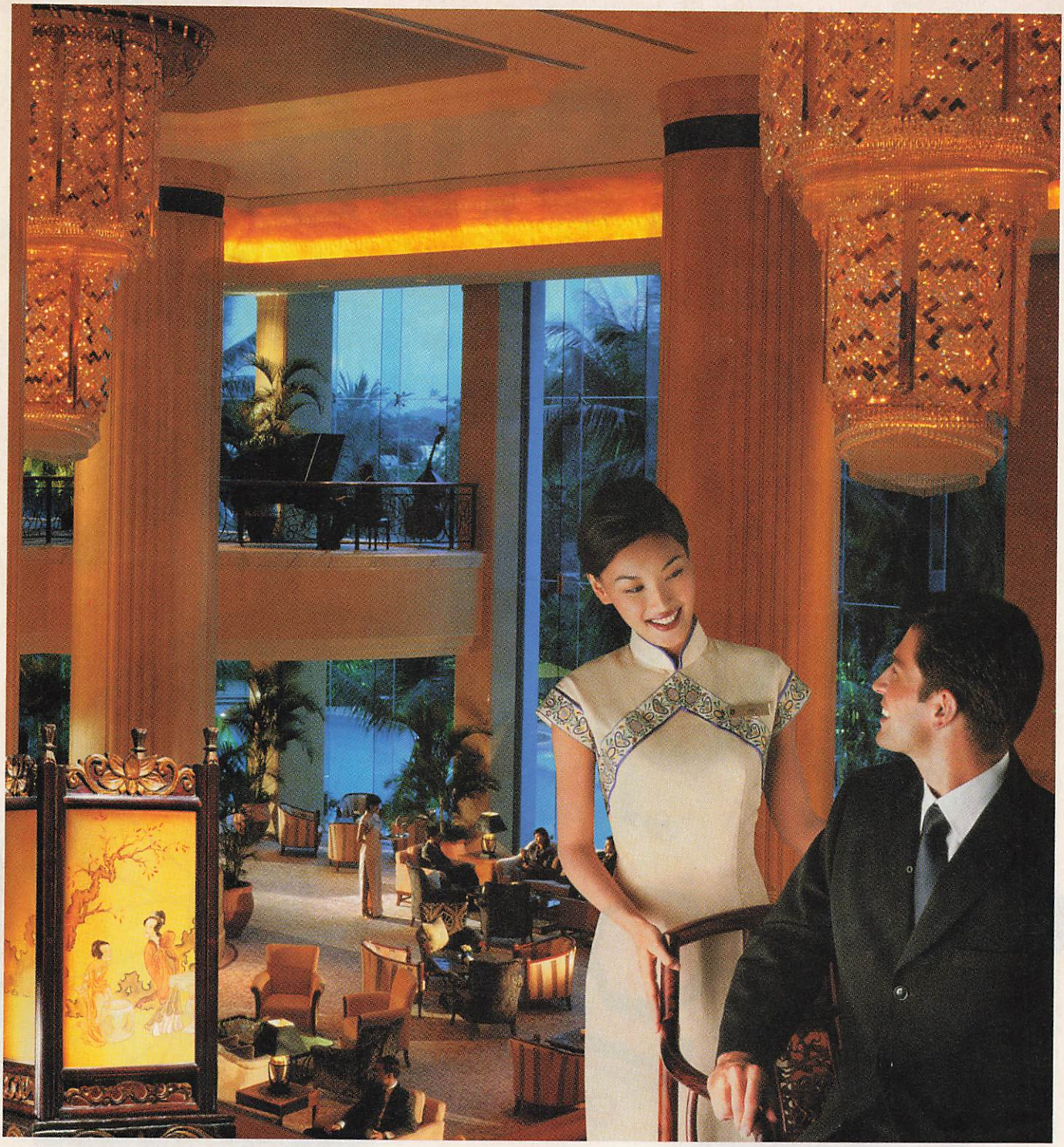
Kids often end up learning as much about themselves as the fauna. For Jan Lewin, an Atlanta mom who took her family to Tanzania, "Adventure travel is an intellectual, spiritual and cultural journey." Twelve-year-old Cara was less open-minded. "I thought it was going to be just a huge petting zoo," she says, though she ended up having a blast. Back from her trip, Brittany reports that she got sick for a day, flipped her kayak in the rapids, never got to take a single shower, but learned that she was capable of things she never thought possible, such as white-water kayaking and making new friends. "I didn't care at all about how I looked. We were like a family," she says of her group of 13 teenage girls. "We were all dirty together." It's all part of the adventure.

With KAREN SPRINGEN



SURVIVORS: A cross-country trip in Costa Rica

PHOTOGRAPH BY KATIE A. MURRAY FOR NEWSWEEK (TOP), COURTESY OF ADVENTURES CROSS-COUNTRY



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Cool Stuff

LAND, SNOW & WATER:

NEWSWEEK searched high and low for the latest in adventure-travel gear—lightweight fabrics, must-have gizmos and a few big-ticket items for the athletically insane. Here are our picks.

1 Lightweight racer

2 Training tights

3 Binoculars with digital camera

4 Durable laptop with Wi-Fi

5 All-purpose flashlight

6 Mountain board with brakes

1. Scalpel by Cannondale Featuring the new "carbon lefty" front fork, this mountain racer shaves weight by eliminating the front right tine. **$4,999.99.** cannondale.com

2. CW-X Performance Conditioning Wear Tights by Wacol Sports Science With an exoskeleton of fabric that minimizes lateral movement. High-performance athletes like them. **$80.** www.cw-x.com

3. Image View Digital Binoculars by Bushnell Performance Optics Birders, rejoice. A compact, long-range binocular marries a 35mm digital camera. The feathered set can get ready for their close-ups. **$89.99.** bushnell.com

4. Toughbook 18 Ruggedized Tablet by Panasonic Light and durable. You can drop it from a foot off the ground, and it will still work. **$3,200.** panasonic.com/toughbook

5. Inova 24/7 by Emissive Energy They call it the Swiss Army knife of flashlights. Eight settings supply everything from a 75-foot high beam to a three-colored distress strobe to a night-vision option. **$49.** inovalight.com

6. Comp 26 X by MBS Mountainboards Meet the off-road skateboard. This board, with rear brakes, allows riders to fly down steep ski slopes in the summer. The U.S. Olympic snowboarding team cross-trains on these. **$519.95.** mbs.com

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK

Snow Games

1. R:11 Puls-Ti by Atomic State-of-the-art downhill design. These skis feature titanium-rod "pulsers" that glide back and forth just slightly, reducing vibrations and helping skiers carve tighter turns. The hourglass shape allows for flotation in deep powder. **$1,175.** www.atomicski.com

2. Axis Digital Compass Watch by High Gear With a built-in altimeter, barometer and compass, this timepiece will make you feel like a superspy. **$150.** highgearusa.com

3. Fission Belay jacket by Arc'Teryx This superlight mountaineer's jacket weighs only 28 ounces and packs to the size of a grapefruit. Unlike other heavy-duty parkas, this one is waterproof *and* insulated. **$450.** www.arcteryx.com

4. DC-80 ski boots by Dolomite "Soft" boots are all the rage; actually, they're mostly plastic, but flexible panels make them more comfortable. This model includes battery-powered foot warmers. **$375.** dolomiteusa.com/ski

5. Rino 120 by Garmin A two-way communication system with GPS, for folks who take the buddy system seriously. It can beam your location to a friend within two miles. **$249.** garmin.com

6. Wicked Fastbag by Sierra Designs Less is more. Here's an innovative sleeping bag, rated to 35 degrees, which shaves weight by eliminating the fill on the bottom. It weighs just 21 ounces—a blessing, but don't forget your insulated sleeping pad. **$209.95.** sierradesigns.com

1 High-end downhill skis

2 Altimeter compass watch

3 Waterproof mountaineer's jacket

4 'Soft' boot with foot warmers

5 Two-way radio with GPS

6 21-ounce sleeping bag

PHOTOGRAPHS 2 AND 5 BY DAVID N. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK;

Water Sports

1. UltraLite Backpacker A-Sym by Hennessy Hammock Great for warm-weather camping or snoozing by the sea, this tent, which is also a hammock, weighs just under two pounds and has won accolades from Soldier of Fortune and Dwell magazines. **$149.** hennessyhammock.com

2. Miox Purifier by MSR Tested by U.S. Special Forces in Afghanistan, this pen-size purifier will clean a bathtub of pond scum in 30 minutes. And, unlike iodine, it leaves no nasty aftertaste. **$129.95.** msrgear.com

3. 11-in-1 Survival Lantern by Sharper Image For the adventurer who has everything. This high-powered lamp also has an AM-FM radio and a black-and-white TV. **$99.95.** sharperimage.com

4. Six-Foot Round Tail by ULI Corp. Dude, don't lug your full-size board around the world (or pay its fare on an airplane). This one fits in a gym bag and won't gash your head in a wipeout. **$289.** uliboards.com

5. Kingpin: Icon by Dagger An upgrade of the stunt kayak that won five medals at the 2003 world championships. It's made for kayakers who want to fly off waterfalls and grab big air. **$1,149.99.** dagger.com

6. PakCanoe 160 by Pakboats Want to paddle the Yukon, far beyond the end of the road? This canoe is helicopter-ready. It folds into a duffel bag and can be assembled in about 20 minutes. Lewis and Clark are drooling. **$1,695.** pakboats.com

7. SolarRoll 14 by Brunton If you can't bear to leave your gadgets behind, pack this waterproof solar panel to power them. It rolls up like a poster and charges like a cigarette lighter. **$399.** brunton.com

PHOTOGRAPH 1: NO CREDIT; PHOTOGRAPHS 3 AND 4 BY DAVID N. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK

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Lindsay Wagner,
Actress, Mom, Gardener

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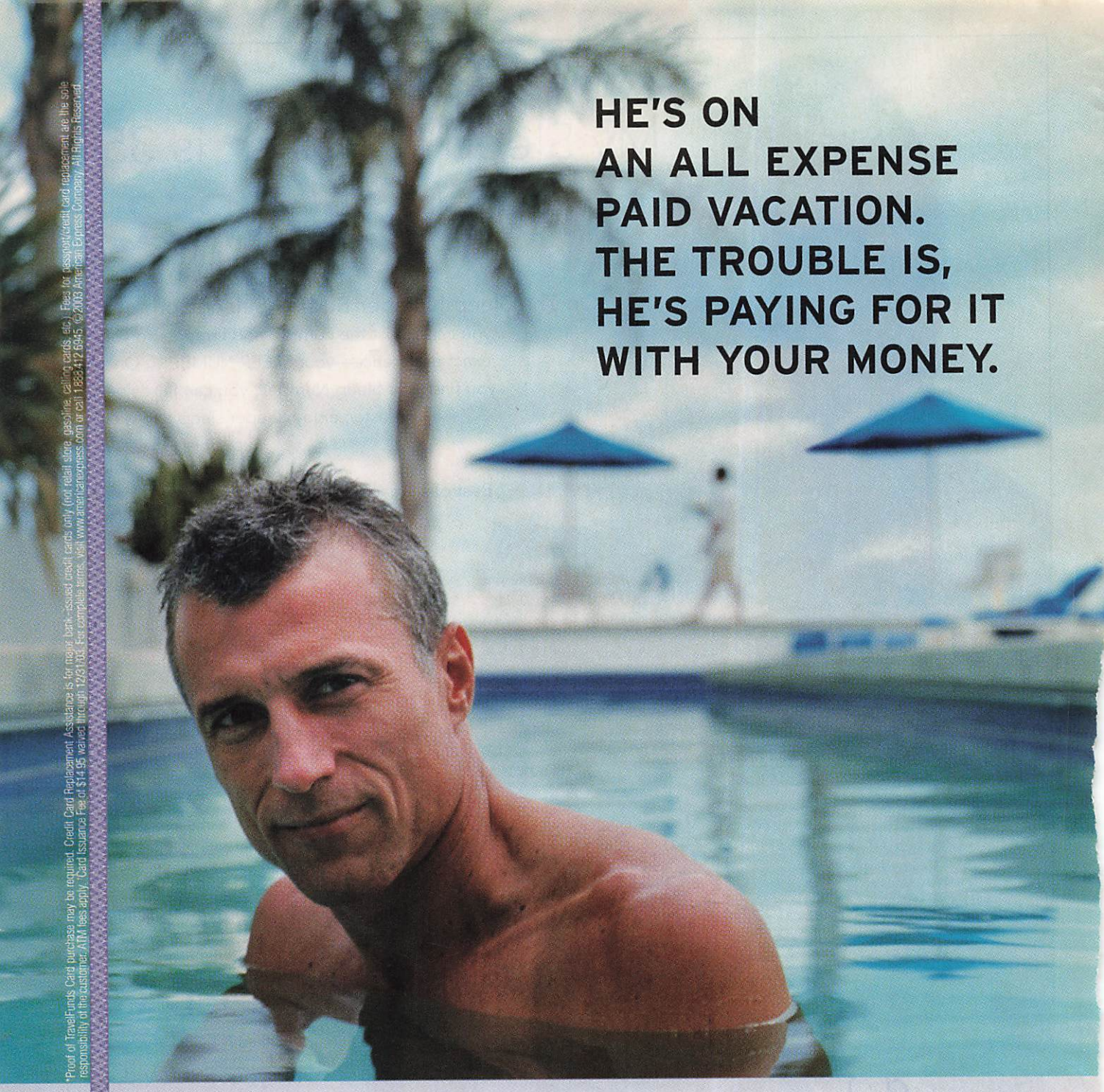

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The Tip Sheet

Smart Strategies for Your Money, Health, Family, Technology, Design, Real Estate, Travel

FOOD | WE WANT S'MORE!

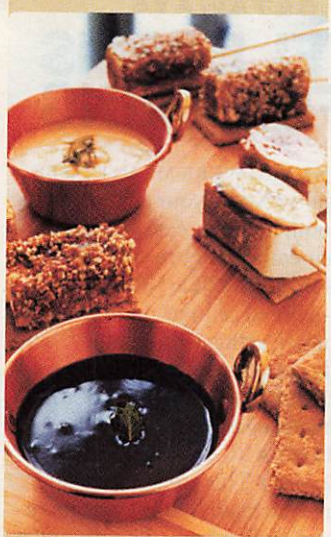
When was the last time you had a s'more? Back in the Girl Scouts or on a family camping trip? Now gourmet versions of the gooey chocolate-marshmallow-and-graham-cracker concoction have become a trendy do-it-yourself dessert at high-end restaurants.

SHUTTERS ON THE BEACH, SANTA MONICA, CALIF. Rectangular house-made marshmallows are skewered, roasted and then rolled in toasted coconut or pralines. You pick one of three fondue-like dipping sauces. The grahams seem pointless. $12.

LE SOIR, NEWTON HIGHLANDS, MASS. Served in a pool of spiced chocolate fondue, a disc of cappuccino marshmallow is topped with a graham-cracker disc. $8.

FIRST, NEW YORK Toast them yourself tableside on a charcoal grill with store-bought marshmallows, Hershey's chocolate and trusty graham crackers. Don't forget to hum camp tunes at the table. $4 per person.

-T.W.



NO COPS HERE: Learn to drive like a pro in a Formula Russell racer

TRAVEL

GOT A TICKET TO DRIVE

BY TARA WEINGARTEN

YOU COULD HOP IN the family minivan, tour the countryside and call it a driving vacation. Or you could jump into a sports car and whip around hairpin turns like Jeff Gordon. Now *that's* a driving vacation. High-performance driving schools that put you in luxury cars and Formula racers are the hottest trend in motor sports. It's the perfect weekend getaway for anyone on a first-name basis with the highway patrol. And though instructors will insist the point is to make you a safer, more skilled driver, I say it's all about beating the pants off your fellow students.

For beginners, your best bet is the Porsche Driving Experience in Birmingham, Ala., a two-day school that divides participants into groups based on driving expertise ($2,495 plus accommodations; **porschedriving.com**). Attilio Brillembourg, from Geneva, Switzerland, recently enrolled with his son. "We both like to drive fast," he says. "But we've got no place to do it without getting a ticket." Students learn the nuances of braking and steering, and spend a full afternoon lapping on a twisty racetrack at the immensely challenging Barber Motorsports Park. After a couple of days with a Porsche driving instructor—all of whom have professional race-car-driving experience—chances are you'll never spin out again.

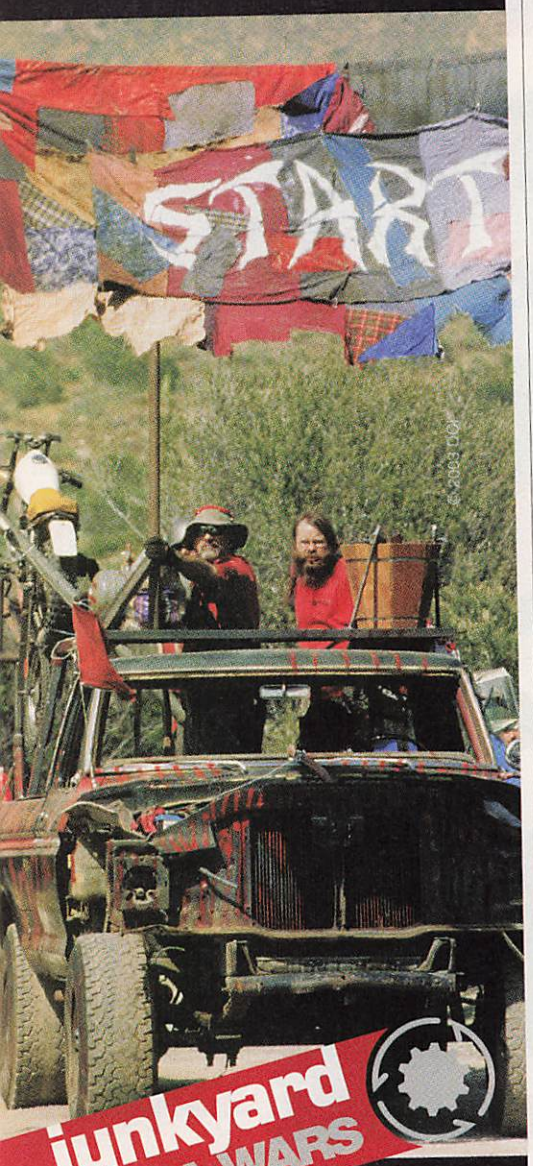
More-advanced drivers will feel right at home at BMW's M School, where instructors assume all students can grasp lingo like "apex" and "trailing throttle" ($3,650, all inclusive; **bmwusa.com**). At its state-of-the-art Spartanburg, S.C., facility, students literally "burn rubber" as they slide around turns in the M3 and M5. (Power sliding is much more fun in someone else's expensive car.) Just as at the Porsche school, you'll go through a timed autocross challenge and master the tricky heel-toe downshift technique used by professional racers. You won't get any track time, but the autocross is twice as long as Porsche's. And you'll go to Michelin's Proving Grounds, where you can hone your wet-weather driving

IN A SKID?
Next time the road is slick and you feel yourself losing control:

- Turn your wheel in the direction the rear wheels are skidding
- If you have antilock brakes, stomp hard on the brake pedal until you finally stop

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: PHOTOGRAPH BY WENDY FLETCHER FOR NEWSWEEK, IAN DONALD—COURTESY OF JIM RUSSELL RACING DRIVERS SCHOOL, COURTESY OF BMW

SEASON FINALE SHOWDOWN!



junkyard MEGA WARS

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The battle catapults both teams to new heights in this epic shootout.
Wed. Oct. 8, 9PM ET/PT

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TipSheet

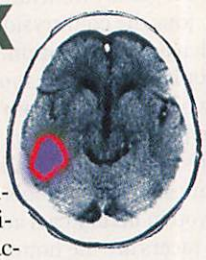
skills on a professional-grade skid pad.

If you're looking for open-wheel excitement, check out the Monaco in Sonoma package at the Jim Russell Racing Drivers School (**jimrussellusa.com**). You'll get three days of track time in a Formula race car, excellent instruction in small groups and three nights' accommodation at Fairmont's Sonoma Mission Inn (including two spa treatments or a couple of rounds of golf, plus dinner for two; $3,595). And since drinking and driving don't mix, you should plan on staying a few extra nights to explore the surrounding California wine country.

Need a shorter program? Mercedes-Benz offers a one-day class at racetracks around the country. This $900 school puts you in every AMG Mercedes and teaches you the basics about vehicle dynamics. If you've never gone fast around a racetrack, it's something everyone should try at least once. But beware, the adrenaline rush is addictive. Says Russell Racing's Kjell Kallman, "Racing is the only legalized drug in America. And we are licensed to sell it."

STROKES

NEW RISK FACTOR



ICELAND'S DECODE Genetics has attracted controversy since its July 2000 IPO, when bioethicists came out swinging, accusing the firm of invading people's privacy. DeCODE wasn't trying hard enough to get people's consent before using their medical data to search for the genetic roots of disease, the ethicists claimed. Three years later, the firm's methods may still seem shady—but no one can deny they work. DeCODE has found 15 genes implicated in 12 diseases, including last week's "stroke gene." The harmful form of the gene, which may cause plaque buildup in the arteries, is as much of a risk factor as smoking, hypertension and high cholesterol. Drugs to counter the gene are years away, and there's currently no way of knowing which form you have. But deCODE CEO Kari Stefansson says a screening test could be ready in a year or two. Our advice: think what you will of deCODE's strategy, but don't ignore the benefits. -MARY CARMICHAEL

COURT LIFE: Villa Feltrinelli, Italy's grand hotel (above); a dining room at England's swank Cliveden House

GETAWAYS

HOTEL ROOMS FIT FOR A KING

THINK YOU WERE MEANT TO BE royalty? Now's your chance. Book a room in these regal surroundings. Just remember: they're all BYO tiara.

■ **CHATEAU DES OLLIERES, NICE, FRANCE** With hand-painted ceilings, marble statues and silk tapestries, this 19th-century Belle Epoque villa once housed a Russian prince and his secret lover. (Rooms start at $157 per night, **chateaudesollieres.com**)

■ **GRAND HOTEL A VILLA FELTRINELLI, GARGNANO, ITALY** This palatial lakeside villa was the Feltrinelli family's private resort. Rest under olive trees, play croquet or splash in the granite pool, but beware: the lake is freezing. (Rooms from $785, **villafeltrinelli.com**)

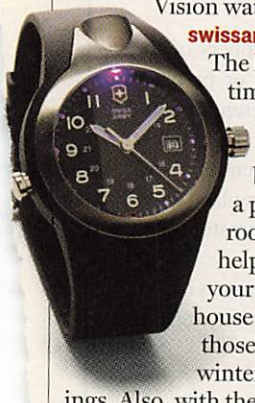
■ **CLIVEDEN HOUSE, BERKSHIRE, ENGLAND** A classic Renaissance façade marks this 17th-century country riverside retreat for dukes and queens alike. On summer days, you can row down the River Thames. (From $408, **www.clivedenhouse.co.uk**)

■ **RIAD ENIJA, MARRAKECH, MOROCCO** In this former palace of King Kaid, book the Lezard Suite, with painted ceiling beams and an elegant wrought-iron bed. (From $280, **riadenija.com**) -MICHELLE JANA

THIS PAGE, FROM TOP: OBERTO GILI, COURTESY OF CLIVEDEN HOUSE, SCOTT CAMAZINE—PHOTO RESEARCHERS, COURTESY OF RIAD ENIJA HOTEL; OPPOSITE PAGE, FROM LEFT: PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK, KEVIN WINTER—GETTY IMAGES, PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK

TECHNOLOGY

LET THERE BE LIGHT



SURE, YOU'VE stocked up on flashlights and candles, but next time the power goes out, can you find them in the dark? That's why Victorinox, the makers of Swiss Army knives, integrated a bright LED flashlight into its new Night Vision watch ($275 at swissarmy.com). The lightweight timepiece is powerful enough to brighten up a pitch-black room—or to help you find your elusive house keys on those gloomy winter mornings. Also, with the illuminated dial, you can always tell exactly how long you've been stuck in a boring movie. The best part? If you lose the watch itself, just wait 10 seconds for its built-in locator beacon to flash. Too bad New Yorkers didn't have it last summer.

-BARNEY GIMBEL

LAW

LORD OF THE RING

WHO CARES IF Jennifer Lopez and Ben Affleck ever get married? All this on-again, off-again (on-again?) nonsense is giving us one very big headache. No, we here at Tip Sheet are much more concerned about the fate of J. Lo's engagement ring—that $1.2 million, 6.1-carat trinket from Harry Winston. If Bennifer never make it down the aisle, what happens to the rock? According to prevailing property laws in most states, the ring goes back to the purchaser—even if he's the one who calls the whole thing off. (Or if, say, he's the one caught in a Vancouver nightclub carousing with strippers.) The ring is generally considered a "conditional gift"—the condition being you get married. The biggest exception, of course, is California, where marriage is a sport. Judy Bogen, a Beverly Hills divorce attorney for 25 years, has never heard of a jilted bride being forced to surrender her sparkler. "No groom has ever had the nerve to ask," she says. So be warned, men: the law may be on your side, but the court of public opinion is much less forgiving.

-RAINA KELLEY

UNCORKED | WHITE BURGUNDY

Burgundy—the ancestral home of Chardonnay, the world's most popular white grape—is dotted with tiny vineyards. Its white Burgundies tend to be both inconsistent and expensive. But they do inspire fierce devotion. The 2001 vintage was just outstanding. Some tastes of heaven:

Score/price

93 / $155 **Marc Colin Chevalier-Montrachet 2001** A true grand cru (the top rank of Burgundy's vineyards). It's thick and rich, with ripe fruit, coconut, pineapple and honey.

93 / $87 **Comte Senard Corton-Charlemagne 2001** This vineyard has its own distinctive character—elegant, not powerful, with seductive lemon and mineral flavors.

92 / $60 **Champy Meursault Les Cras 2001** Neighboring Burgundian vineyards can make vastly different wines. This Meursault boasts racy lime, honey and hazelnut.

92 / $75 **Michel Coutoux Meursault Les Charmes 2001** While this Meursault is razor-sharp. Both Les Charmes and Les Cras are premiers crus, just one step below grand.

91 / $60 **Fernand & Laurent Pillot Chassagne-Montrachet Grande Ruchottes 2001** It's steely, with a distinctive chalky character—clean, vibrant and focused.

Wine Spectator rates wines on the 100-point scale; all wines are blind-tasted. Prices are those suggested by producers or importers. For more information visit winespectator.com.

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Legal Notice

If You Bought Firestone Tires or Owned or Leased a Vehicle Equipped with Firestone Tires Between 1991 and 2002,

A Proposed Class Action Settlement May Affect Your Rights.

A proposed nationwide settlement of a class action lawsuit involving purchasers of certain brands of tires made by Firestone has been reached in *Shields v. Bridgestone/Firestone, Inc. and Bridgestone Corp.*, Cause No. B-170,462, a case pending in the Jefferson County, Texas District Court ("the Court"). The Court has ordered that notice be sent to the proposed class members. Personal injury or property damage claims are not involved.

What is this case about?

Plaintiff originally filed this lawsuit seeking to represent a nationwide class of persons who owned Firestone ATX, ATX II, Wilderness AT, and other tires made by Firestone that were investigated by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration between May 2000 and October 2001. This case, along with other similar lawsuits in state and federal courts around the country, arises out of NHTSA's investigation of those tires and Firestone's recall and replacement of certain ATX, ATX II, and Wilderness AT tires in August 2000 and in October 2001.

Plaintiff claims that Firestone sold the tires without telling people that the tires have defects in them that make the tires susceptible to tread separation. Plaintiff further claims that, had she and others who bought the tires known of the alleged defects, they would have paid less. Firestone denies all allegations and has asserted numerous defenses. The Settlement is not an admission of wrongdoing and does not indicate a violation of any law.

Who is affected?

The Firestone tires subject to this Settlement include certain sizes of the following tire brands: **ATX, ATX II, ATX Radial 23 Degree, Wilderness, American Prospector, Champion All Terrain, Dayton Timberline, Daytona, Firehawk, Force 4 All Terrain, Gillette, Lemans, Peerless, Platinum, Polaris Pathmaker, Radial ATX, Seiberling, Steeltex Radial 23 Degree, Trans Trac, Triumph Terrain, Wheel Trac, and Widetrack Radial Baja.**

To see if your particular tires are affected, you should check the Settlement Website, http://www.firestonesettlement.com, or call the number below to receive a detailed Notice that describes the Settlement and lists the brands and sizes of tires included in the Tire Settlement Class.

What does the Settlement provide?

Under the Settlement, for a period of at least seven years, Firestone will make certain types and sizes of its tires with designs that include cap strips, nylon strips, or other comparable technology intended to provide high-speed capability for the tires.

Firestone also will conduct a three-year long consumer education program — using national media, a web site, point-of-sale materials, direct mail, and other efforts — with an annual budget of $5,150,000. The consumer education program will be focused on improving consumer awareness about tire and vehicle safety issues.

The Settlement releases all claims for all members of the Class against Defendants except personal injury or property damage claims. Although Firestone's recall and replacement programs were completed prior to the Settlement, if a member of the Class has not replaced recalled or replacement tires that are still in use on his or her vehicle, Firestone will replace those tires without charge if the vehicle is brought to a Firestone Tire Service Center.

For more detailed information about the Settlement, visit the Settlement Website or call the toll-free number below to receive a copy of the Notice.

What are your rights and options?

- You may choose to participate in the Settlement and be bound by the terms of the Stipulation of Settlement, the Final Judgment, and the Releases described in the Notice.
- If you stay in the class, you may object to the terms of the Settlement by December 22, 2003. The Notice describes how to submit objections.
- If you do not wish to participate in, or be legally bound by, the Settlement, you must exclude yourself, as described in the Notice, by December 22, 2003 or you will be barred from pursuing any legal action against the Defendants related to your purchase and ownership of the tires or any vehicles on which they were installed.

The Court will hold a Fairness Hearing on January 7, 2004 to consider whether to finally approve the Settlement. At that hearing the Court will also consider the request by the lawyers representing Plaintiff and the Class for an award of no more than $19 million for attorneys' fees, costs and expenses. You may — but need not — appear personally at the Fairness Hearing.

To receive a copy of the Notice or for more information,

call toll-free 1-866-345-0360

or visit the Website, http://www.firestonesettlement.com

Please do not contact the Court.

COMPUTERS

HIGH-TECH HOOKY

WITH SUMMER over, the closest you'll get to a sandy beach is that photo on your screen saver. But it doesn't have to be that way; here are some slacker hints for ducking out of work, with no one the wiser.

Delayed e-mail: Have your e-mail sent hours after you've left the office. After writing your e-mail in Microsoft Outlook, go to the File tab and click on Properties; click the Send Options button; select the Microsoft Exchange Server tab; in the Send This Item option you can set a new time of delivery.

Call-forwarding switcheroo: You can actually have your business phone forwarded to your mobile or home phone. Just set it up with your phone company, and remember to answer the way you would at the office.

Cover and concealment: BlackBerry, the handheld, wireless e-mail device, lets you read and send your e-mails from anywhere within your service area. Why not e-mail from the beach?

Remote log-in: Download the software from **GoToMyPC.com**, which allows you to open your office documents anywhere. Just don't spill the margarita.

-DHURATA ZHUTA

ROAD TEST | ROOMBA PRO ELITE

HATES DIRT. AND PETS.

"The Jetsons" completely failed to deliver. Here it is, 2003, and still no flying cars. No instant dinner. And, perhaps most tragically, no Rosie the Robot. But now there's the Roomba Pro Elite, a second-generation, self-guided vacuum that sucks up dirt as well as any standard upright (with much less noise). But the little fella still needs constant supervision. He's always bouncing off chair legs or—on the multiroom function—darting down the hall to scare your cat. (In fact, all pets seemed terrified of the circular sweeper.) To help, this new Rooxmba does include a remote control. But what good's a robotic vacuum if you have to do all the work? —KATE STROUP

Roomba Pro Elite
Multiroom function, remote control, two 'virtual wall' units and wall mount for storage
$249.99
roombavac.com

Tip: Forget "multirooming" and you'll save $20 with the basic Roomba Elite.

To suggest a Road Test, log on to Newsweek.MSNBC.com and click on Tip Sheet.

MONEY

JET-SET SPENDING

WHY TIE YOUR credit card to one airline? With cards like MBNA's World Points MasterCard, Fleet's Power Rewards Visa or Capital One's Miles One Visa, you can trade points for a ticket on any airline (usually with no annual fee). But it can take some serious spending—$25,000 or more—to get even the most basic plane ticket.

Sticking with one airline card is often a better bet. American Airlines is offering new AAdvantage cardholders a 5,000-mile bonus and a cross-country trip for 17,500 miles (but the card has a high $85 annual fee).

Or consider sticking with a simple cash-back card, like American Express Blue or National City's CashBuilder card. You can earn as much as $1,000 a year in cash rebates. And, with that kind of dough, you can buy a ticket almost any time, anywhere.

-LINDA STERN

WILDLIFE

ANIMAL PLANET

NOW IS PRIME TIME for wildlife viewing, as critters head to warmer climes, fatten up for winter and look for mates. Our favorite fall destinations for nature lovers: There's Colorado's Rocky Mountain National Park, where you can watch the elk rut. (That's when bulls bugle and lock horns to win the attention of nearby females. Kinda like football.) Ask at the gate for the day's best locations. It's $15 per family; see **nps.gov/romo**. Or, in New Hampshire, drive Route 16 out of Berlin toward Canada for guaranteed moose sightings. And finally there's Hawk Ridge Nature Reserve in Duluth, Minn., where guests can gawk at more than 100,000 red-tailed hawks, osprey, peregrine falcons and other birds of prey (**hawkridge.org**). Can't get away? Check out **thebackyardbirdwatcher.com** or see the superb bird documentary "Winged Migration."

-PAUL TOLME

WHEN ANIMALS ATTACK: See elks rut this fall in our national parks

ASK TIP SHEET: Now that the National Do Not Call Registry is caught in legal limbo, is there anything we can do to stop telemarketers?

-JULIE MARSHALL, HOBOKEN, N.J.

Contact your local attorney general—more than half the states now have their own registries. Then add your name to the Direct Marketing Association's do-not-call list (dmaconsumers.org). Its members will honor your request. Finally, read up on your rights by clicking on the National Consumers League's Web site (nclnet.org/privacy/stopcalling2.htm). Its advice: think twice before you give your phone number to anyone—except maybe Mom.

-PAT WINGERT

To submit a question, go to Newsweek.MSNBC.com and click on Tip Sheet.

FROM TOP: PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMIEN DONCK FOR NEWSWEEK, ILLUSTRATION BY MELINDA BECK, THOMAS AND PAT LEESON—PHOTO RESEARCHERS

NO GAS STATIONS. NO ROADS. NO MAPS.

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Newsmakers

$27 million Asking price for Woody Allen's Manhattan town house, bought in 1999 for just over $5 million

Beautiful Losers?

BASEBALL'S WINners begin the postseason this week, but the losers have the best shot at immortality. Heading into the final Sunday, the Detroit Tigers had lost 119 games, and with one last defeat would equal the '62 New York Mets as the losingest team in history.

Those Mets—even worse than this year's—were the all-time lovable losers: from manager Casey Stengel's cubist syntax to "Marvelous" Marv Throneberry's impressionist defense at first base, they elevated ineptitude to a fine art. Yet players on the rookie franchise were lionized by a city lonesome for the National League since the Dodgers and Giants Horace Greeleyed four years earlier. "They never stopped cheering us," recalls Roger Craig, whose 24 losses made him the ace of the staff. "We couldn't go out to dinner without some fan picking up the check."

NO SPECIAL K: One more Tiger strikeout

Detroit, by contrast, doesn't even find camp value in the no-hit, no-pitch, no-field assemblage that's the worst of a decade of losing Tiger teams. "Can we let you in on a little secret?" Detroit Free Press columnist Mitch Albom wrote last week. "We don't care that much. [It's] a little like telling us the engine on our old clunker just died. It was bound to happen sooner or later."

Oddly, Craig now works for the Tigers as a consultant. He feels no nostalgia for his old team's record for futility, and he'd be delighted to see it broken—if only it weren't by the Tigers. Still, after working in the major leagues for 35 seasons, he takes the long view. "You never know what is going to happen in this game," he says. In 1964, the year Craig left the Mets for the Cardinals, he beat the Yankees in a World Series game. And this should offer some hope to today's Tiger players. They could always get traded.

–MARK STARR

A ROYAL PAIN If Britain's Prince Harry learns nothing else during his three-month stint as a cowboy in the Australian Outback, he'll know not to pick up an echidna named Spike. Any echidna, for that matter.

LUCIANO PAVAROTTI

AFTER HIS CONCERT CDS WITH the likes of Sting and the Spice Girls, it's surprising only that it took Luciano Pavarotti, 68, until last week to release his first solo album of Italian pop songs, "Ti Adoro"—also his first studio album in 15 years. We almost said he rapped with NEWSWEEK's Jennifer Ordoñez, but we don't want to give the guy any more ideas.

You have a much younger girlfriend, a baby daughter and now this. Do we have a late midlife crisis here?

Not bad, eh? Totally different. I don't know, life goes like that.

Are opera fans handling this all right?

I don't know. I hope. It was at least 20 years that my record company asked me to do this album. I always say, "I don't want to do pop." But my daughter came to me with "Caruso" [an Italian pop hit about the legendary tenor's last days], I heard the song and I decided absolutely to do it. It's probably one of the greatest songs I've ever heard in my life, and I had to use it. I did it with great pleasure.

What do the other Two Tenors think of this?

Well, first they were scandalized and now they do the same. Like when I did publicity for American Express. My friends, they called me to say, "It's not serious" and so and so, but after, *they* are trying to do it. I am a challenger. I think I am ahead of all of these things because I am a curious one and I like to try new things. I definitely hope to maintain my old audience as well as the people who do not like opera, but who probably still like my voice. I tried with this album to please everybody—well, to make everybody happy, not to please them.

Sting, the Spice Girls, Jeff Beck playing guitar on the "Caruso" remix—is there anyone else you're still angling to work with?

I have in mind some others. I asked three of the most important, but for some reason they said no—Madonna, Springsteen and the McCartney. Well, they said yes, but they don't ever do it.

Maybe they're intimidated.

Aww, no! They are colossal. I am intimidated by *them*.

LEFT TO RIGHT: RICK RYCROFT–AP, ANN HEISENFELT–AP, MARC GOUPIL–WIREIMAGE

Free Pass for The President

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY FOR NEWSWEEK

THE MOST UNDERPLAYED STORY OF THE PAST month was the one about the events of September 11 and Saddam Hussein. There is no direct link between the two. This despite the fact that George W. Bush and the members of his administration have labored tirelessly to suggest one ever since they decided to invade Iraq. This despite the fact that they've been spectacularly successful at convincing American citizens of this fiction: more than two out of three believe the Iraqi leader was personally responsible for the terrorist attacks. "No evidence," the president finally was forced to admit publicly, that this was so.

The Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune ran this extraordinary exercise in backpedaling on page one, where it belonged, but most other major papers buried it inside. The New York Times gave the story barely 300 words on page A22. The New York Post didn't mention it at all, perhaps because it happened soon after it turned out the link between Jennifer Lopez and Ben Affleck had also been overstated.

Until now George W. Bush has been uncommonly lucky. He has managed to turn a budget surplus into the most monumental deficit in history, in part because of ill-conceived tax cuts. He mounted a war in Iraq with the promise of weapons of mass destruction that have never materialized. He went after two sworn enemies, Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden, and has managed to apprehend neither despite the most expensive intelligence-gathering apparatus on earth. He used Saddam and Al Qaeda in the same sentence in his State of the Union address, then had to confess that his innuendo had false underpinnings. He traveled the other day to the United Nations to ask for help from a body whose members he treated with utter, unilateral contempt not long ago.

To truly appreciate what a free pass the president has gotten, it is necessary only to imagine what the response from Republicans—and reporters—would have been if Bill Clinton had been responsible for one of those things, much less all of them.

Clinton is one reason George W. has developed a Teflon coating slicker and thicker than that of Ronald Reagan. Bush's predecessor set the bar low: as long as the American people were convinced that the president was not having sex in the Oval Office, they felt mollified.

The tenor of the last election also gave President Bush little to live up to. If there was one prevailing theme, it was that he was none too bright. He may be the only Yale grad ever to give a speech at the school in which he boasted of his lousy average. The result was that the president could not easily be seen as duplicitous or even particularly responsible. Rummy, Wolfie, Condi: it was as though the president and his advisers were a ventriloquism act.

Imagine the response from Republicans—and reporters—if Bill Clinton had been responsible for one of those things, much less all of them

But the Teflon has begun to show telltale scratches. The war is dragging on and soldiers continue to die, and increasingly Americans—even Americans in the military—are asking what the point was. The economy is a mess, the tax cut a sop. There was never a better time to ask for sacrifice from the American people than in the wake of September 11. Except for that of the soldiers, no sacrifice was demanded except the sacrifice of removing your shoes in airports and ceding your civil liberties to John Ashcroft.

This is what happens when personality trumps positions. It's also what happens when the major parties are piñatas, bright and empty. The Republicans genuflect to the right wing, wink at the millionaires and ignore the moderates who used to be their base. The Democrats are afraid to be the party of the disenfranchised, to demand a real working wage and to take a strong stand against unnecessary aggression.

Wesley Clark, who has suddenly become a white-knight candidate in this time of conflict because of his military experience, has had a hard time giving a straight answer (or even a single answer) to the question of whether he would have voted for the Iraq war resolution. In the most recent debate he said, "If I've learned one thing in my nine days in politics, it's you better be careful with hypothetical questions." That's what we've come to, a time in which it is possible to confuse the hypothetical and the principled, since the bottom line is the electable.

Someone once described to me the admissions standards of a prestigious public high school to which students are admitted based on a single test. On your test paper you don't put a name or address. No one knows your neighborhood or ethnicity. There's just an ID number and your answers, right or wrong.

Maybe that's how presidential elections ought to be handled. Just a long checklist of positions: the minimum wage, free trade, tax policies, the use of force, the Supreme Court, entitlements. Then people, including us newspeople, wouldn't spend so much time on the candidates' chins or whether a spouse was going to be a liability and instead could concentrate on what matters. That is, finding a leader who is willing to take straightforward positions and support them with facts, not innuendo and suggestion and then the disingenuous coda "no evidence." Instead of a Teflon president with a phalanx of frontmen, the opposite is what is called for: a person willing to say, "The stuff sticks here."

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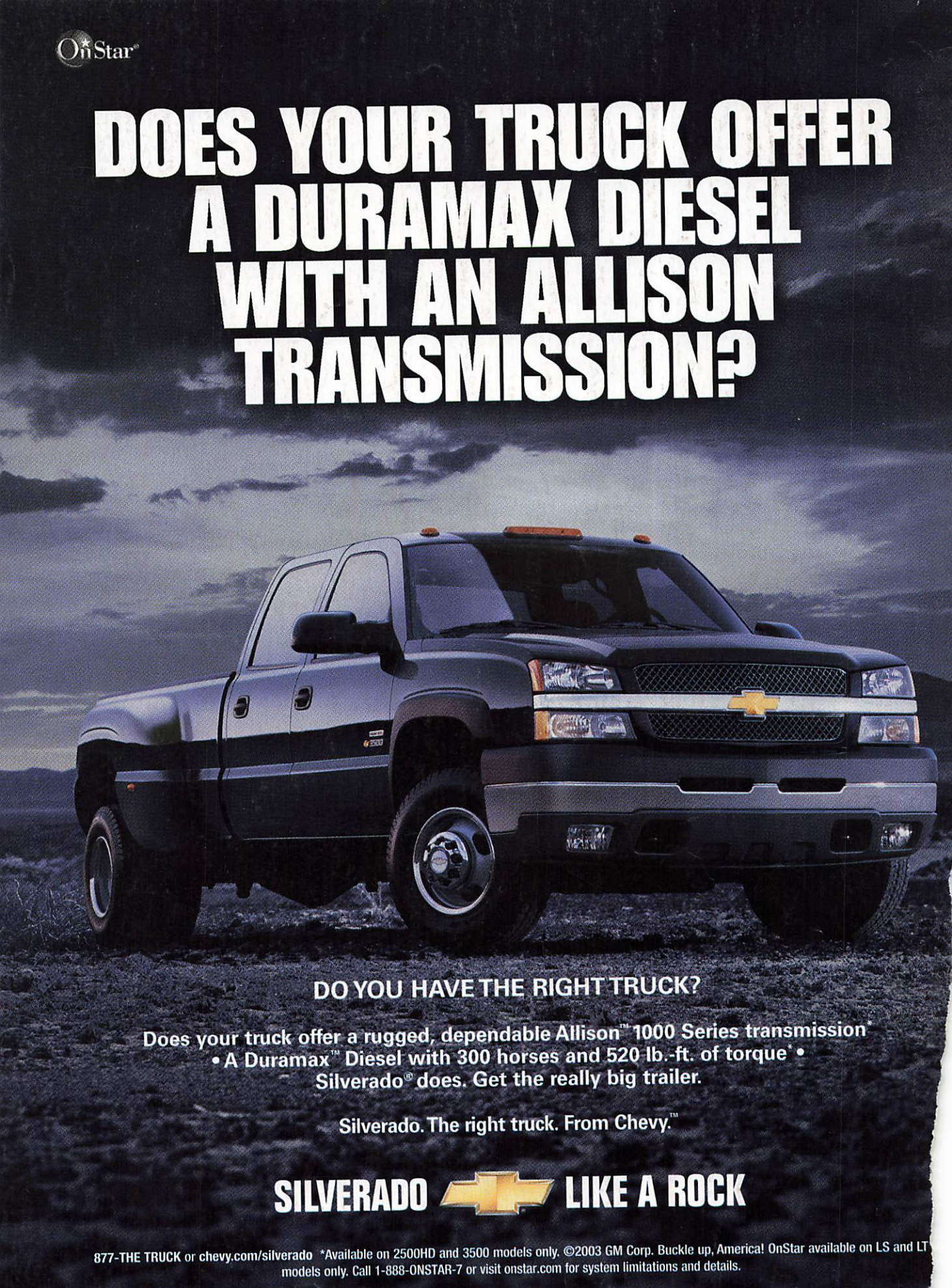

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